

A
GENERAL
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

VOLUME I.

Containing an Account of the first Inhabitants of the Country,
and the Transactions in it, from the earliest Times
to the Death of King JOHN, A. D. MCCXVI.

By *THOMAS CARTE*, an ENGLISHMAN.



L O N D O N,

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To his GRACE the
DUKE of BEAUFORT
P R E S I D E N T,
AND TO THE
Society of Noblemen and Gentlemen;
THE
CHANCELLOR, MASTERS, and SCHOLARS
OF THE
UNIVERSITY of OXFORD,
With the SOCIETIES of
New, Magdalen, Brazen-nose, Lincoln, and Trinity
C O L L E G E S;
THE
LORD MAYOR, ALDERMEN, and COMMON COUNCIL
OF THE
CITY of LONDON,
And the Worshipful COMPANIES of
GROCCRS, GOLDSMITHS, and VINTNERS;
BY WHOSE
G E N E R O U S E N C O U R A G E M E N T
This Work hath been undertaken,
This F I R S T V O L U M E of a
General History of ENGLAND
IS HUMBL Y I N S C R I B E D B Y
Their most obliged
and devoted Servant,

THOMAS CARTE.

P R E F A C E.

THIS volume brings the *History of England* down to the time, when the two famous charters of *English* liberties were granted; and authentick copies of the most considerable acts of our kings, in the course of their government, began to be enrolled and kept on record. It is chiefly by authorities drawn from these last, that we must be guided in our judgment of the disputes that arose afterwards, as well about several articles of the former, as in relation to various branches of our constitution, the prerogative of the crown, and the liberties of the subject, which came on occasion to be controverted. As such occasions point out the proper places for dissertations on each subject; and as the lower we descend in time, the more lights offer themselves for clearing up the points in question, discourses on those controverted matters must necessarily be reserved for the succeeding volumes of this history. Several dissertations indeed appear in this first: but they are only upon subjects, of so remote antiquity, or so fully supported by coeval evidence, that they either could not derive, or did not need, any further light from later authorities.

It would have been preposterous to have begun a general history of a country, without some previous account of its *antiquities*: and my first book, serving for an introduction to the historical part of this work, is employed in tracing out those of the *Britains*, the original planters of these *western isles*; which took from them their denomination, when they came to be known to the *Phœnicians*; who discovering the country, corrupted likewise the religion of its inhabitants. This enquiry was the more difficult, by reason of the sudden destruction of the *Druïdes*, soon after the *Romans* began their conquests in *Britain*, and of the utter ignorance of the *Old Britains*, as to the use of letters. Some writers indeed, on a presumption, that they knew as much as the people of *Gaule*, with whom they held a continual correspondence, and that these last were acquainted with the *Greek* language, are willing to think them not illiterate: but the reasons I have urged to shew, as well that the one knew nothing of letters, as that the other might possibly use the *Greek* characters for figures in accompts, though they did not understand them at all, when employed for the formation of words, will (I imagine) support me in both those notions. As for other points of knowledge, the descendants of the ancient *Britains* will have no reason to complain of that early progress in various sciences, and of those fundamental principles of religion, which I ascribe to such of their ancestors, as had the benefit of a *Druidical* education; from whom the learned *Greeks* borrowed the best of their religious doctrines, and the first knowledge of those sciences, in which they became afterwards so eminent. The accounts, given by *Hecataeus*, *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, of the situation of the country of the *Hyperborei*, so famous in *Greece* for sending their sacred embassies to *Delos* in times more ancient than the *Phœnician* voyages to this country, when it came first to be known in the world by the name of *Britain*,

naturally suggested to me, that they were the inhabitants of these *British* islands. What is said of them by all the other ancient *Greek* authors that I have had an opportunity of examining, and my own repeated reflections on the subject, have only served to confirm me in this notion; which I flatter myself, new as it is, will yet be adopted by men of learning and judgment, when they consider that the *Greeks*, in those early ages, could not well speak of so remote and unknown a people, but under a name taken from their situation, and that the points of knowledge, derived from those *Hyperborei*, cannot possibly be ascribed to any other northern nation, or to any set of men therein, but only to the *British Druides*.

By some quotations I have seen out of *Olaus Rudbeck's Atlantica*, it appears, he was desirous to do his *Goths*, or *Scandinavians*, the honour of being the *Hyperborei* in question; and I would fain have examined what he says on the subject: but neither the library of *Sion* college, nor any other to which I had access in this place, could supply me with that book. I am sorry to observe on this occasion, that there is scarce a great city in those parts of *Europe*, where learning is at all regarded, which is so destitute of a good publick library, as *London*: and we now see a most expensive structure erecting for the *Mansion House* of its chief magistrate, without any provision to remedy a defect, which is scarce to be found in the private houses of any simple magistrate abroad, to whom there is any resort on account of publick business. There is not a day in the week, but there is some well-furnished library open at *Paris*, for the inquisitive world to repair thither and peruse the authors they have occasion to consult: and for the most opulent city upon earth, the metropolis of a great and learned nation, to labour under a defect of this kind, looks as if learning, the friend and the support of liberty, met here with little encouragement from the publick, however it may be cultivated by private persons, in despite of all difficulties. As I had no means of considering that writer's arguments in favour of his opinion (which however I find generally rejected by those who mention it) I have contented myself with observing, that the *Goths* seated on the *Baltick* had no knowledge of any science whatever, till the time of *Sylla*: and have in my discourse on the subject, thrown in some occasional remarks to shew, that what is said of the sciences, and religious doctrines, or rites of the *Hyperborei*, is incompatible with the best accounts we have of all other *Scythian* nations. Had I been master of the *Celtick* or *British* tongue, I might perhaps have been able to point out other names of persons and places, made use of by the *Greeks* in their descriptions of a future state, and the rewards or punishments of another life, that are, like those of *Rhadamanthus*, *Tantalus*, and *Cocytus*, evidently borrowed from that language, which was spoken by the persons who first instructed them in those doctrines.

THE three first books of this *History* treat of transactions happening in the times, which afforded matter for *Geffrey* of *Monmouth's* pen: but I have made no use of his history or romance; it being so manifestly fabulous in the main, that there is no depending upon his relations, even in points which carry with them an air of probability. The copy of the *British* original, from whence he pretends to have translated it, is said to be preserved in the library of *Jesus college Oxon*; it is much worn, especially on the edges of the leaves: but the hand doth not seem so ancient as the time of *Geffrey*. There is another copy thereof in the handwriting

(as I am told by those who take upon them to know it well) of the famous poet *Guttyn Owen*, preserved in the curious library of Mr. *Davies* of *Llanerk* in *Denbighshire*: it is entitled *Brut-y-Brenhined*, i. e. the *History of the kings of Britain*; and is ascribed to *Tyffillio*, son of *Brockmael Yscythroc*, prince of *Powis*, by a mistaken conjecture founded on a current tradition of this prince's having wrote an *History of Britain*; for, as the author of the *Archæologia Britannica* (who laments the loss of it about fifty years before he wrote) assures us, that work was purely ecclesiastical. It seems to me to have been composed by a *Cornish* or *Armorican* *Britain*; those people, in ancient times, intermarrying, and maintaining a correspondence with one another, and the former going generally for education or instruction to *Armorica*, a country notorious for giving birth to an infinite number of legends and romances. I examined it carefully, with the assistance of several gentlemen of *North* and *South-Wales*, skilled in the dialects of those countries: and found a great many words in the manuscript, which none of them could understand; perhaps because they were either *Cornish* or *Armoric*. A person versed in these dialects may easily ascertain the verity of this conjecture; which I found only on an observation obvious to every reader, that it is calculated throughout, to do honour to *Cornwall* and *Armorica*, and to represent the mighty figure those two countries made in ancient times, and the vast influence their princes had upon all the affairs of *Great Britain*.

USHER and other learned men have already observed, from several passages in it borrowed from other writers, that it was composed, after the *Acts of S. Lucius*, the *Legend of S. Ursula*, and *Bede's* works were known in the world: and the author's speaking of the *twelve peers of France* being summoned, and attending at *Arthur's* coronation at *Caerleon*; may serve to shew, that he wrote it after the false *Turpin* (a writer, unknown in the time of *Flodoard of Reims*, whose chronicle comes down to A. D. 966, and the first that mentions those twelve peers) had published his *History of Charlemagne and Roland*. The ceremony of four princes bearing as many naked swords before *Arthur* in the procession from his palace to the church at that solemnity; the tournament or mock fight on horseback among other decorations then exhibited, the title of legate of the apostolick see given to *Dubricius*, as primate of *Britain*, conspire to suggest it could not be written till the eleventh century; and probably not till the latter end of it, or a very little time before it was translated by *Geffrey*. The passage, in which *Hengist* is said to have been buried, not after the *Pagan* fashion (as *Geffrey* translates the words of the original) but *after the manner of the Soldans*, affords reason to think it made its first appearance in that age of romances, when the expeditions to the *Holy Land* had introduced a *gout* for stories of giants, and for every fabulous relation that had in it any thing marvellous; and after the pilgrims engaged therein had brought into these western parts of *Europe* some accounts of the *Soldans* of *Babylon*, *Egypt*, and *Iconium*. It was this history that served for the foundation of *Geffrey's* performance; all his relations being taken from thence, though embellished with some of his decorations on occasion, particularly in his account of battles, and enlarged by most of the letters and speeches which appear in his work, and were entirely his own composition, as well as by the addition of *Merlin's* prophecies.

SOME

SOME modern writers however are inclinable to think, that there was an *Historia Britonum* more ancient than this of *Geffrey*, because *Alured*, treasurer of the church of *Beverley*, speaks of such an history, without mentioning its author; and that *Geffrey's* relations are not a little confirmed by what is said of the *British* kings in *Sigebert's* chronicle: but they are evidently mistaken in both these notions. The last of those writers died *A. D.* 1112, having brought down his chronicle to the year 1100: and in the edition published by *Miræus*, *A. D.* 1608, from the author's original manuscript preserved in his monastery of *Gemblours*, there is not a word said of any *British* king, except *Aurelius Ambrosius*. *Robert*, called *de Thorigny*, from the place of his birth, as long as he continued a simple monk in the convent of *Bec*, but after he came to be abbot of *Mont S. Mechel* in *Normandie*, generally termed *Robert de Monte*, undertook to continue that chronicle from the year at which *Sigebert* ended, to *A. D.* 1150: and in the preface to his new edition of it, says expressly, that he added to it an account of the kings of *Britain* (because *Sigebert* had mentioned none but *Ambrosius*) and took that account from the *Historia Britorum*, lately translated out of *British* into *Latin*. This description of that history plainly points out *Geffrey's* work, who began his translation soon after the death of *Henry I*, as appears from his dedication of it to that prince's son *Robert* earl of *Gloucester*, and published it probably *A. D.* 1138. This appears evidently from the epistle of *Henry of Huntingdon*, *ad Warinnm Britonem*, *De serie Regum Britannorum ex Galfrido Artburo*, which *Sir Henry Savil* says, he had seen in various manuscripts annexed to that writer's history; who, in *January A. D.* 1139, attending *Theobald* archbishop of *Canterbury*, with some other *English* bishops, in their journey to *Rome*, and staying in their way thither a day or two at the monastery of *Bec* (of which *Theobald* had been formerly abbot) was there shewn by *Robert de Thorigny*, the *Historia Britonum*, translated into *Latin* by *Geffrey Arthur*, which, though he had sought for it with great diligence, he had never been able to get a sight of before. This circumstance shews it had been very lately published, and was in very few hands, since so curious a searcher after all historical works as *Huntingdon* was, had not been able to meet with it before that time; when he had finished, and dedicated to *Alexander* bishop of *Lincoln*, then in great power, the first seven books of his history, in which what he relates of the antiquities of the *Britains* is borrowed from *Nennius*. *Robert* did not begin his supplement to *Sigebert*, or the continuation of his chronicle (which he carried down to *A. D.* 1183) till after *A. D.* 1150: but whether he began it, whilst a monk of *Bec*, or after he became abbot of *Mont S. Michel* (to which dignity the author of *Neustria Pia* shews he was elected on *Thursday, May 27, A. D.* 1154) is not very material, since it is evident, he did not begin it till several years after *Geffrey's* history was published; and whoever compares what he says of the *British* kings (particularly at *A. D.* 470) with *Geffrey's* work, will see clearly that all his accounts of them are taken thence *verbatim*, and may observe likewise the diffidence with which *Robert* quoted those relations.

As to *Alured* of *Beverley*, his annals go down to the latter end of *A. D.* 1129, when *Henry of Blois* was made bishop of *Winchester*: but he did not meet with the *Historia Britonum*, out of which he says, he made those deflorations, which are mentioned among his works under the title of *Deflorationes Galfridi*, till *A. D.* 1148, nor begin the writing of his annals, till after he had made those ex-

tracts.

tracts. It must be observed, that under *Stephen's* lawless government, there was no respect paid to the clergy: they were maltreated in all places, abused in their persons, plundered in their goods, and many of them turned out of their possessions. To remedy this grievance, the council of *London*, ¹*A. D.* 1143, made a canon, denouncing an excommunication against all persons guilty of those practices; a sentence which an infinite number of persons incurred in those times of confusion. There happened, about the same time, a dispute in relation to the see of *York*; *William*, his sister's son, being either nominated by *Stephen*, or chosen by his influence: and his election being for that reason, after a controversy of five years, set aside by *Eugenius III*, in the council of *Reims*, on *Midlent Sunday*, *March* 30, *A. D.* 1147. Archbishop *Theobald* had gone to that council ², in contempt of *Stephen's* orders to the contrary: and this prince having, on that account, banished him the realm, and seized the possessions of his see, *Theobald* put all parts of *England*, that acknowledged *Stephen's* authority, under an interdict, the first sentence of that kind that was ever published in this nation. It lasted ³ from *September* 12, *A. D.* 1147, to *February* 1, *A. D.* 1148; and in that interval, *viz.* on *December* 7, 1147, *Henry Murdac*, abbot of *Fontaines*, had been at *Treves* consecrated archbishop of *York* by the Pope, with whom he had been bred up under *S. Bernard*, in the monastery of *Clairvaux*⁴. *Henry* coming the year following into *England* to take possession of his see, was opposed by *Stephen*, and not received into *York* by the citizens: who proceeded with so much violence against the clergy that acknowledged *Henry*, that some had their livings and prebends taken away, and were otherwise cruelly treated; the canons and archdeacons of the church suffering among others, and all of them banished; which brought all concerned in those unjust severities under the excommunication denounced by the council of *London*. *Murdac* hereupon laid an interdict on the city: and passing his censures on all that adhered to his rival, retired to *David* king of *Scotland* for safety. *Stephen* and his son *Eustace* coming into *Yorkshire* in the summer of the year following, laid heavy exactions on all that stood by *Henry*, and caused divine service to be said, notwithstanding the interdict, which involved still more persons in the sentence of excommunication⁵. The church of *Beverley* sided with *Henry*, and suffered on this occasion from *Stephen's* oppression: and nothing but his fear of the patron saint of the place, hindered him from erecting a castle there, to keep them in a more absolute subjection. These troubles, in which the clergy of that place, and of the province of *York*, were harassed by the royal authority, and officers on one hand, and by the archbishop supported by the papal power on the other, lasted from the beginning of *A. D.* 1148, to the latter end of *A. D.* 1150.

It was in this interval, that *Alured* met with the *Historia Britonum*, which was then come to be the subject of all conversations, and from whence, having nothing else to do, and being unable to pay the charge of a transcript, he made the extracts, that served for the principal materials of the three or four first books of his annals. He says in his preface, that it was a time, when an infinite number of persons were excommunicated, in consequence of the decree of a council of *London*; when royal exactions and oppressions made people weary of their lives; when ecclesiasticks in high stations were driven from their seats and dignities; when he could not say his canonical hours, and there was a cessation of divine offices, by reason

¹ *Concil. M. Brit.* i. 421, 422.

² *Gervaf. Cant.* col. 1363, 1666.

³ *Ib.* col. 1364.

⁴ *Gul.*

Neubrig. i. c. 17.

⁵ *Joh. Hagulstad.* col. 278.

of an interdict; circumstances which agree to no years near *Alured's* time, but those which passed from *A. D.* 1147, to *A. D.* 1150. Those who imagine he died *A. D.* 1126, or 1128, or in the year that his annals end, are undoubtedly mistaken, since in the latter end of his sixth book, when he reckons up the eighteen bishopricks then in *England*, he makes *Carlisle* (which was not founded till *A. D.* 1133, or perhaps the year following) one of the number, though he speaks of it as lately erected. There is therefore no reason to doubt of what is obvious to every reader, that *Alured* took his accounts of the *British* kings from *Geffrey's Historia Britonum*: and he delivers them in *Geffrey's* own words in abundance of places. To mention only one, which is sufficient to put this matter out of dispute; *Alured*, giving an account of *Arthur's* keeping *Whitsontide* at *Caerleon*, says, that the *Historia Britonum* enumerates all the kings and princes that came thither upon his invitation: and then adds, *præter hos non remansit princeps alicujus pretii citra Hispaniam, qui ad istud edictum non venerit*. These are the very words of *Geffrey* in his *British History*, and so peculiarly his own, that they are one of his additions to the original *British*, from which he translated his work; as any one, skilled in that language, may see by examining Mr. *Davies's* manuscript. It appears upon the whole, that the *British History*, which encouraged *Alured* to write his annals, was no other than *Geffrey of Monmouth's*.

IN defect of any light from *Geffrey's* relations, it was necessary to derive from the *Roman* writers, and the monuments of their empire preserved in different parts of *Great Britain*, the accounts given, in the second book of this history, of transactions in this country, whilst it was under their dominion. The annals of *Wales*, the learned Mr. *Robert Vaughan* of *Hengwrt's* critick upon them, and a multitude of passages in the works of the most ancient *British* poets, and in the lives of the *British Saints*, have contributed much to set the account of the progress of the *Saxon* conquests, and the decline of the *British* power in this island, in the light wherein it appears in the third book of this history. The *Saxon* chronicle, the registers of churches and abbeys, the charters of *Saxon* kings, the lives of *Saxon* saints, with some *Old English* historians and chronicles have furnished most of the materials of the fourth book: and the two last have been chiefly taken from our own writers, coæval with the facts they relate, compared with foreign historians, and with what records of the same times there are in being. I have been careful to examine each fact, before I allowed it a place in the body of this work; and always quote the decisive authority upon which I relate it; seldom mentioning others of less weight, or later in time, unless for the sake of some circumstance in the relation omitted by the principal author. I have however examined all others that treat of the same subject; though I have thought it a very impertinent way of swelling a volume, and a very unfair treatment of a reader, to charge the notes with accounts I have been forced to reject, and put him upon the dry and tedious work of going through the trash of writers unworthy of credit, and of forming a judgment upon scraps and fragments, as they appear in the quotations of such as have taken that method.

I AM not fond of mentioning the name of a person, capable of sinking for selfish ends into the lowest dregs of scurrility, and who hath so wrong a turn in his head as to object in the way of reproach to another the extraordinary manner of his encouragement to a work, which doth him the greatest honour, and would, in the

case of any other man, be deemed by all the world an illustrious testimony of acknowledged merit. It shews either a wonderful genius, or a very uncommon share of presumption, for a person to fancy himself master of all points of antiquity, and qualified to write an history of *England*, the moment that he hath perused a *Brady*, or (one that borrows the best of his materials from him) a *Tyrrel*, and is able to make use of their translations from originals; the phraseology whereof requiring some previous knowledge of ancient usages to understand, might else have proved too mysterious for his capacity to comprehend. I have passed many years in the study of the antiquities of this nation; and if I have taken time for the publishing of this volume, containing the transactions of ancient times, every particular whereof was to undergo a strict examination, it was my indispensable duty to do so, in order to the composing of a work that might not be unworthy of the patronage of a noble society, nor unfit to answer their view of doing service to their country. The world is rarely edified by books wrote *extempore*, and published in an hurry: and I have the satisfaction of knowing that I have not lost a moment I could possibly save, nor hath the press ever waited an hour for me; but volumes of so large a size are not printed with such expedition as people expect. I have thought it my business to explain every usage, and clear every occurrence as it happens in the course of the history; it appearing to me very ridiculous (however necessary for their profit others may find it) for the writer of the history of a nation, to postpone either a discourse of its antiquities, or the explaining of revolutions which come in the order of time to be related, matters of the greatest difficulty or curiosity, to dissertations which are to appear some time or other after his work is finished, dispersed, and purchased. I have always looked upon airs of confidence, a pompous pronouncing of a man's own opinion in matters which he doth not state or clear, and an unintelligible jargon of big sounding words, which men of the best judgment can't understand, nor the author himself perhaps explain, to be a wretched cover for ignorance: I have therefore endeavoured to clear every subject, of which I have had occasion to treat, that the reader may judge of it as well as myself, and I hope I have done it to his satisfaction; at least, I am sure, he will be at no loss to understand my meaning.

I HAVE been surprized to see my accounts, in the general tenour of the *English* history before the conquest, and in an infinite number of passages throughout this volume, to differ so widely from those given by other writers who have preceded me. I can impute it to nothing but my taking pains to examine what they took for granted, or were perhaps incapable of forming a judgment upon, for want of a sufficient knowledge of antiquity, chronology, and geography. I have not mentioned those from whom I differ, because a formal refutation of them would have swelled this work to no other purpose than to render it tedious: but have contented myself with fixing such chronological marks to events, as are sufficient to shew their mistake in what they have related on the same subject. It may be too much to ask of the reader to compare our accounts together: but whoever does so, will easily see who hath studied the subject most, or hath explained it best. It hath been a work of more pains than is easy to be conceived, to settle the chronological order of events passed in the remote ages of antiquity: but I have gone through it with the utmost care, and to the best of my judgment. The chronological disquisitions are generally put in the notes: but the lesser chronological marks, of days in the week or month, appear in the body of the history, as taking up a very small space,
and

and being necessary to shew the mistakes of other writers. Our old historians commencing the year at different times, makes it necessary to observe, that I always begin it at *New Year's day*.

THE barrenness of events, and their incident circumstances in ancient times, generally produceth a dryness in the narration: I have done what I could to avoid that inconvenience, not by inserting amusing tales without any foundation in fact to support them, but by the manner of my relation thereof, that it might not appear tedious to the reader, who will judge whether my endeavours have answered my intention. I have spared no labour in the search of truth in all cases: and I relate it, as it hath appeared to me upon the result of my enquiries; having judged and wrote of ancient ages, as if I lived only in them, without any application to later times, except in two or three very material instances, where it could not well be avoided. I am conscious of no bias on my mind, nor can I imagine where the most prejudiced persons can suspect me of any; unless perhaps in my character of *Stephen*, so different from what others say of him, but yet verified in every particular by the constant tenour of his actions. If I appear severe to *John's* memory, it is owing only to his conduct: and I have not said that it was his fixed resolution to murder his nephew *Arthur* from the moment he had him in his power, and that he would have executed it sooner than he did, if he had not been deterred by the dread of his mother *Eleanor*; though I am apt to think every reader will be of that opinion, when he considers, that in two days after her death, perhaps the moment after she was laid in the grave, he murdered that young prince with his own hand; as I have shewn by proving from two undoubted records in 5 *Johannis* (one for reducing the fees of the great seal to what they were in the reign of *Henry II*, the other for settling queen *Isabel's* jointure, which is printed in *Rymer*) that *Eleanor* died in the week before *Easter*, *A. D.* 1203, contrary to the stream of all our historians, even of the last pretender to that character, who place her death in the year following. I have however, to do justice to truth, taken as much care to vindicate *John* from the horrible calumny charging him with the treacherous massacre of three hundred *French* of the garrison of *Evreux*, first advanced by the *French* writers, and afterwards adopted by the *English*, to the very last of them, as I have to clear *Henry II* from the scandalous falshood of his having a love affair with *Adelais*, the sister of *Philip August*.

I HAVE avoided a parade of reflections, which those, who use them most, make equally upon true or false facts, and instruct the least by them, at the same time that they seem to preclude the reader from making his own: and have only used them upon the most important occasions. In other cases I have chosen to couch them in some short touches, suggested naturally by the fact, and interwoven in the course of the narration. If the reader doth not complain of my too great exactness, I shall not doubt his opinion of my impartiality; which none are so apt to suspect, as those who have the least of it themselves, or are the most ignorant on the subject; men prepossessed with notions of things they never examined, too hastily condemning every thing that clashes with their own received opinions. Instruction is the end I have aimed at, and truth hath been my guide in all this work; never satisfied in any point, till I had made use of all means in my power for discovering it: and without any pompous or hypocritical appeal to heaven to warrant it, yet in a just confidence of my own integrity in relating it, I now commit my book to the judgment of the publick.

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A

GENERAL HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

BOOK I.

Giving an account of the Customs, Manners, and Government of the first Inhabitants of GREAT BRITAIN, and of the condition of the Country at the time of the Roman invasion.

THE work, which I have undertaken, naturally obligeth me to enquire into the true original of the ancient inhabitants of GREAT BRITAIN; to trace them from their first appearance upon earth, through their various changes of abode and transmigrations of countries, to their final settlement in these western parts of the world; and to represent as much, as can be learn'd at this distance of time, of their manners, customs, and religion, the condition of their private life, the nature of their public constitution and government; with the revolutions to which, by a fate incident to human affairs, and common to all other nations, they have from time to time been subject. To do this, with regard not only to the original inhabitants; but to such likewise, as have come over since the first plantation, either with hopes of refuge, or views of conquests, or perhaps invited by the natives to their succour, or else tempted by the richness of the soil, the goodness of the climate, and the plenty of the country to settle here and mix with them, on various occasions and in different ages: To relate the fate of these different people through a long succession of time; through ages remote, ignorant, obscure, of which we have very small remains, and those uncertain as to their authority, imperfect in their matter, and confused in their narration of the few occurrences they were intended to convey down to posterity; without any order of time, and with very few particulars of place, date, or chronological marks to serve for a guide and help to form a judgment, even in points of the greatest importance; as well as through others, which indeed afford a multitude of writers, but generally Monks, confin'd to a cloister, unexperienc'd in affairs, unacquainted with the

world, equally fond of perpetuating trifling and material events ; and who, being often misinformed themselves, are much fitter to mislead than instruct us in such cases, ever varying in their accounts of transactions, and frequently contradicting each other, in the substance as well as circumstances of facts ; so that there is no admitting them for evidence, till they have stood the test of a strict examination : To do this as it ought to be done, is a work which requires a great impartiality of mind, and coolness of reflection, with a continual attention and exercise of the judgment, in order to clear up what such writers have perplexed ; to separate what they have improperly jumbled ; to distinguish what is true from what is false ; and what may be received as certain from what is barely probable or mere conjecture. But whatever labour may be necessary for this purpose, or however disagreeable it may be, to go through heaps of rubbish to select a few materials ; an historian cannot, with justice to himself or the world, abate the least of this care and caution till he comes to the age of public records ; when all the civil acts of government were enrolled and committed to writing in a regular and authentic manner, and most of the military and political transactions of the same times may be verified in a great degree by those unerring authorities.

THIS however is no more than the importance of the subject deserves, and is absolutely necessary to answer the ends of History : which, with the knowledge of past transactions, conveys to us the experience of former ages, the examples of our ancestors, and the just characters of persons, who have deserved either well or ill of their country. It treats of the secrets of state ; the actions of princes ; the conduct of ministers ; the condition and behaviour of the people ; the forms of their *police*, customs, and constitution ; the wisdom of their laws ; the methods and rules of their justice ; the maxims of their politics ; the arts or mistakes of statesmen ; the causes of the grandeur of a nation in some ages, and of its decline in others ; the virtues which raise it at one time to the height of glory, and the vices which at another sink it into contempt, and pave the way to its ruin. In a word, it lays before our eyes the vicissitude of all human affairs, the fate of kingdoms and states, the variations of religion and government, the occasions and causes of revolutions, with the pretences made use of by such as have projected, and the ends proposed by such as have favoured them ; the means whereby they have been brought about, and the effects which they have been found to produce.

To relate these with a proper choice of their important circumstances, and accompanied with just reflections, without favour or prejudice to parties or persons ; and without any bias but what is the necessary result of a due esteem for virtue, and of an honest zeal for the public good ; to relate them, purged of the defects and faults, that have, in the barbarity of past ages, crept into our old chronicles ; in the natural order of events ; and with a clearness of narration, proper for instruction, as well as necessary for their being rightly understood ; not with the pomp of sounding words, the flourishes of an orator, or the paintings of a poet, which history rejects as unworthy of her dignity, and which are certainly an improper language to come out of the mouth of truth ; but still with a force, and elegance, and (as occasions require) a life of expression ; in an easy flow of style ; such as, without veiling any of the native charms of Truth, may yet give her ornaments agreeable to her modesty, and make her appear amiable in the eyes of those, who might be shocked to see her in a dress either forbidding or negligent ; is the proper business of an historian. This is the task in which I am engaged, and these are the subjects of the following work ; in which they shall be treated with that becoming freedom, which the laws of history demand, and which, after an unwearied diligence in searching for the truth in all cases, a consciousness of writing it justly warrants :

warrants: And they shall be described with all the exactness, which their importance deserves, as well as with all the impartiality, which the purest love of truth can inspire.

I. BRITAIN, reputed by the *Greeks* and *Romans* the largest island of the habitable world, is seated in the north west part of *Europe*; surrounded by a number of lesser isles, which, however distinguished from each other by particular denominations, passed among the antients by the general name of the *British Islands*. It is divided from the continent on the east and south by two branches, the one of the *German*, the other of the *Western Ocean*; which extend themselves into the *English* channel, and grow gradually more shallow, as well as more narrow, till they meet in the strait between *Dover* and *Calais*. It was probably this last circumstance, and the small distance between the *French* and the *English* coasts in that strait; and perhaps some old tradition; which have occasioned abundance of writers, both ancient and modern, to imagine, that this island was originally joined to the continent, and severed afterwards from it, either at the time of the universal deluge, or by some accident, which hath happened since the general alteration made in the outward face of the earth by that inundation. ¹ *Verstegan* supports the latter opinion, by arguments drawn from the appellation of *Cliffs* given to the rocks near *Dover*, and on the opposite shore, preserving, as it were, a memorial of their having been once joined and afterwards cleft asunder; from their being both of the same chalky and flinty substance, their sides towards the sea appearing plainly to be broken off from more of the same matter to which they had been some time by nature fastened; from the length of those *Cliffs* along the sea-shore, answering on one side exactly to the length of those on the other, both running for about six miles till they terminate in a sandy shore; (as that of *Calais* is on the *French* coast, and *Sandwich* on the *English*) and not above twenty four miles distant from one another; from the face or appearance of those *Cliffs*, which seem cut off steep or strait down from top to bottom, not sloping as inland hills generally are in their descent to the valleys adjoining, but broken off by force towards the sea with a surprizing evenness, each side still corresponding to the other in this respect: and from the alterations evidently appearing in the neighbouring countries, particularly in *Holland*, *Zeland*, and the low parts of *Flanders*, once covered by the sea, and still subject to inundations, but drained (as he supposeth) upon the waters finding a passage through the narrow isthmus, which till then afforded a land passage from the continent to *Britain*.

THE observations made by Dr. *Wallis*, Mr. *Sommer*, and others of the like alterations in maritime and low grounds in *Kent*, *Essex*, *Lincolnshire*, and other parts of *England*, with the impossibility of an isthmus so very narrow, when continually beaten on both sides, being able to hold out for thousands of years against the fury of two seas conspiring to undermine it, renewing their attacks every tide, and their natural force augmented from time to time by the violence of storms, have inclined them also to adopt the same sentiment. To these may be added the setting of the tides (in the manner they must necessarily flow before the isthmus was broken) of the *German* sea from north to south, whilst those from the western ocean set from south to north, till they meet in a point about the *Doggar sands*; The ridge of rock at the bottom of the sea running from one side of the straits to the other; and the name of the headland on the *French* side lying opposite to the *South Foreland*, which is now called *Blackness*, and was anciently known by the name of *Promontorium Icium*, as *Ptolemy* writes it, or *Itium*, according to

¹ Restitution of decay'd intelligence, p. 97, et seq. See Philosophical Transactions, N°. 275, 276.

Strabo, a name probably derived from the Celtic word *Guith*, signifying a *separation*².

IN an event supposed to have happened many ages before *Britain* was so much as known to the learned part of the world, there is no expecting any testimonies from authors to decide the question. *Servius*, who flourished about A. D. 400, being the most ancient that (in his commentary upon a passage of *Virgil* which hints it) directly asserts this separation of *Britain* from the continent; and I only touch upon the reasons, which seem to favour that conjecture; not caring to dwell longer on a subject of not so much use as curiosity.

THE first step to the knowledge of a country, and the first point of enquiry about it, is the name by which it is distinguished: and this hath in all ages been generally taken, either from the name of the inhabitants, from the nature of its situation, or from some particular circumstance or quality, as well of the land as the people. The names *Albion* and *Britannia*, by which this island seems to be first known in the world, and which are taken notice of by *Aristotle*³, are naturally enough accounted for in this manner: For as the mountains which separate *France* and *Italy*, being always covered with snow, and appearing white, were for that reason (as *Festus Pompeius* says) called *Alpes*⁴; so this island, when it first presented itself with its chalky cliffs and soil to the eyes of those who viewed it from the Gallic shore, could not be more properly denominated than by the name of *Albion*; agreeable to that which used to be given it by the ancient *Britons*, who called it *Inis-wen*, or *Ellan-ban*, both words denoting *The white island*. As to its other name of *Britannia*, learned men have been much divided in their opinions about its derivation; and the dispute between them hath been carried on with more warmth and vehemence than the subject seems to deserve. Several of these derivations are so much forced, and so ill calculated, either to engage the judgment, or even strike the fancy of mankind in their favour; that it is scarce worth while to mention them. I shall therefore only take notice of *Camden's*, which, it must be owned, is ingenious and natural enough, and then take the freedom of offering my own; for in cases of so remote antiquity, where there is no light but what must arise from conjecture, every man has a right to propose his opinion, that the most rational may be preferred.

CAMDEN makes this name to be a compound of two words of different languages: *Brith* or *Brit*, a Celtic word which signifies *painted*, and *Tania*⁵, a Greek word denoting a *region*; so that, according to him *Britannia* was so called from its being a *Country of painted people*. My objection to this is, that it accounts better for the

² That this, as well as the harbour near it, called *Portus Icius* (deemed by ^a *Camden*, ^b *Du Fresne*, and other learned men, to be *Vitsand* or *Witsand*, which has still the remains of a Roman road leading to it, and was the ordinary passage between *France* and *England* from the sixth at least to the fourteenth century, as appears from writers and records in those and the intermediate ages) derived their names from the British word *Guith*, which signifies a *Separation*, is the more probable, because the *Ile of Wight*, called by some authors *Viētis*, and *Iētis* by *Diodorus Siculus*, (in whose time^c it was an island only at high water, for at low, when the tide was out, the channel between it and *Hampshire* being left dry, it was joined to *Britain*, as a peninsula) is called *Guith* by the *Britains*; for a like reason as *Sicily* assumed its name, when it was by *Deucalion's* flood (as ^d *Seneca* says) cut off and severed from *Italy*.

³ In his treatise *De mundo*.

⁴ From the Greek *ἄλπος* or *ἄλπος*, the Roman

Albus or the Sabine *Alpus*, which in these several tongues signify *White*, being all derived from the Celtic *Alp* or *Alb* (the letters *b* and *p* being in that language, as well as in many others, continually interchanged) which hath the same meaning; (See *Antiquitez des Celtes* in *Gloss.*) But whether it be for this reason or no, there are others who maintain, that all mountains and high places were called by the *Celtæ*, *Alpes* or *Albes*: See note in *Tacit. de Mor. German.* N^o. 28. Ed. *Gronov.* Thus a mountain near the *Neckar* not far from *Roteling*, was called *Alba*, and *Strabo*, l. iv. p. 202. speaks of another at the extremity of the *Alpes* in *Illyricum*, called *Albius Mons quasi Alpinus*, near which stood the town of *Albium*, and *Alpia* formerly *Albia* and *Alpiona*.

⁵ *Camden* had no occasion to have recourse to a foreign word; when the Celtic, *Tan*, from which the other is manifestly derived, has the same meaning.

^a In *Kent*.

^b *Portus Icius*, p. 104. etc.

^c p. 301.

^d *Quæst. natural.* 6.

name of the country, than for that of the inhabitants, and seems to owe its original rather to foreigners than the natives; whereas, of all the ways and occasions of giving denomination to countries, that, which derives them from the very name of the people who first planted them, is certainly the most usual in point of practice, and the most fitting in point of reason to be preferred. Now, in the ancientest writings of the *British* poets and others, it appears, that they constantly called themselves *Prydbain*, and their country *Inis-prydbain*, the *Isle of the Prydbain*: and “as with ¹ regard to words, especially *substantives*, which in their primary use “begin with *p*, the *Welsh* constantly change that letter, in speaking or writing, as “occasion shall require, into *b*,” and make a like change of *d* into *t* and *db* into *tb* ²; like which it was always pronounced; I can’t see how the *Latins*, who constantly rejected such aspirates, or indeed the *Greeks*, hearing the sound of the word *Brydbain* ³, and softening it after their manner, when they adopted it into their language, could well call the people by any name but that of *Britani*, or the country by any other than that of *Britania*.

I SUPPOSE indeed (and it is all that in this case I have occasion to suppose,) that people distinguished by the same *latinized* name, were likewise called by the same corresponding name in the *Celtic* or *British* tongue; which, I imagine, cannot reasonably be disputed; and that there were people on the continent called *Britanni*, who being more used to commerce with the world, and more civilized than the *Island Britains*, never marked or painted their bodies, is a fact very easy to be proved. *Julius Cæsar* indeed does not mention them in the short Commentary which he wrote of his wars in *Gaule*, tho’ he says in ⁴ general, that the maritime provinces of *Great Britain* were inhabited by people who came over from *Belgium* ⁵, and retained here the same names, which had served to distinguish them in their former country. But there is no great stress to be laid upon his silence; because he scarce gives us the names of forty towns of *Gaule*, when *Appian* in his account of the same wars, and *Plutarch* in *Cæsar’s* life tell us, that he reduced above eight hundred to the obedience of the *Roman* empire ⁶.

Dionysius, author of the *Periegesis*, who wrote in the reign of ⁷ *Augustus Cæsar*, speaking of the nations which dwelt on the sea-coasts from *Spain* to the *Rhine*, mentions the *Britanni* as settled to the south of that river on the coast of *Flanders*, over-against the isle of *Great Britain*: and *Pliny*, recounting the various people that dwelt in his time on the coast of *Gaule*, from the mouth of the *Schelde* southwards, and distinguishing them from those who were settled more within land; after mentioning the *Toxandri*, who possessed *Zealand*, the *Menapii* of *Brabant*, the *Morini* and *Oromansaci* who inhabited the counties of *Boulogne* and *Guisnes*, placeth the *Britanni* between these last and the people of *Amiens*, *Beauvais*, and *Seex* in *Normandie*; assigning them, by this description of their situation, a part of *Picardie* for their habitation ⁸.

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¹ *Lluyd’s Archaeol. Brit.* p. 19. col. 2.

² *Ib.* p. 28, and 29. col. 1.

³ For Mr. Baxter (in *Gloſ. Ant. Brit.* p. 90.) says, that the oldest *Brigantes*, the first inhabitants of *Britain*, never used the letter *p*, which was introduced afterwards by the *Belgic Britains*.

⁴ *De bello Gallico*, l. 5.

⁵ *i. e.* *Picardie* properly so called, or perhaps the part of it called the country of *Ponthieu*.

Thus also with regard to the vast number of different people settled on the coast of the ocean, in a tract of above a 1000 miles, from the mouth of the *Rhine* to the shore of *Biscay*, who all had their distinct proper names, he speaks of them only under the appellative names to which they might all

make the like pretensions, being taken from their common situation; such as the *Morini* and *Aremorici*, *i. e.* the *Maritime Nations*, except in three or four in the Province of *Bretagne*, which his wars there necessarily obliged him to mention. It is likewise observable, that this last name of *Aremorici* used to be given also to the *Aquitani*, of whom there were above twenty nations between the *Garonne* and *Pyrenees*. *Plin. Nat. Hist.* l. iv. c. 17. 19. *Strabo*, p. 189.

⁷ l. iv. c. 17.

⁸ *Sanſon* thinks that the chief city of these people was *Abbeville*: Whose first walls, some vestiges whereof still remain, are by an old tradition said to be built 1130 years before the *Christian*

era;

B

^a *Britannia, ou Recherche de l’Antiquité d’Abbeville.*

It is reasonable however to think, that these *Britanni* or *Brydbain* of the continent, extended themselves formerly much farther along the western coast of *Gaule*, than they did, or were supposed to do, at the time when they first came to be known to the *Romans*; and that the *Britanni*, spoken of by *Dionysius*, as settled on the coast of *Flanders*, (where the towns of *Bruges*, and *Bretten* the old name of *Mons* in *Haynault*, seem to preserve their memory) and those of *Picardie* mentioned by *Pliny*, were originally the same people, and lay contiguous to each other; and that they were spread still farther along the coast towards the south, even to the mouth of the *Loire* and the extremity of *Bretagne*; which several learned writers maintain to have been called by that name, long before it came to be in constant use, and appropriated to that province after the remains of the army, brought out of this island by *Maximus*, had, according to the *Welsh* tradition, settled in that country⁴.

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æra; and that by a fate common to it with abundance of other towns in *Gaule*, and elsewhere, it has by the substitution of a new one, lost its ancient and more honourable name of *Britannia*.^b *Strabo* gives us from the famous *Polybius*, who took it from *Eratosthenes* keeper of the *Alexandrian* library under *Ptolemy Evergetes*, and from *Pytheas* of *Marseille*, who was still elder than the other, and in whose time the thing seems to have happened in the neighbourhood of his usual abode, a very remarkable relation with regard to that ancient city. He says that *Publius Cornelius Scipio* (father to that great man who first deserved the honourable title of *Africanus*) “enquired diligently of the deputies of *Marseille*, when they were with him, “about the cities of *Britannia*, *Narbonne*, and “*Corbilo*, the three best cities in all *Gaule*.” This must, in all probability, have happened in *A. U. C.* 535. about 220 years before the birth of *Christ*, when *Scipio*, being consul with *T. Sempronius Longus*, was sent to oppose *Annibal*, then marching with his army through *Gallia Narbonensis* in order to invade *Italy*: and coming with his fleet to the mouth of the *Rhone*; the city of *Marseille* (a colony of the *Phœceans*, which, from their first settlement in those parts near four hundred years before, had cultivated a strict friendship, confirmed by mutual good offices, with the *Romans*) sent their deputies to wait upon the consul, with offers of their assistance, and with the best intelligence, they had been able to procure, of the motions of the *Carthaginian* army. The *Maffilians*, by reason of the continual wars, in which from the earliest days of their establishment they had been engaged with the *Salii* and other nations settled in their neighbourhood, and the little intercourse they had with the rest of *Gaule*, were but ill qualified to answer *Scipio*’s questions to his satisfaction: But it appears from hence, that *Britannia* was the first of those renowned cities of *Gaule*, the fame of whose opulence, commerce, and power had reached to *Rome*. The account which^b *Strabo* gives of the antiquity, commerce, and populousness of *Narbonne*, which not long after occasioned the southern part of *Gaule* to change its name of *Braccata* into *Narbonensis*, must raise in us a favourable opinion of the like advantages belonging to *Britannia*, which deserved a preference to so eminent a city: Towns destined to commerce, by which in all ages they have grown considerable, were generally founded upon large rivers at a small distance from the sea;

so was *Narbonne*: and *Strabo* tells us, that *Corbilo* was seated near the mouth of the *Loire*, where it now appears under the name of *Nantes* according to *Ortelius*. *Britannia* must be looked for among the *Britanni*; of which people we may as naturally conclude it to be the capital, as *Ausck* was of the *Auscii*, *Angers* of the *Andegavi*, *Tours* of the *Turones*, and *Beauvais* of the *Bellovaci*; and accordingly *Sanfon* places it at *Abbeville* on the *Somme*, not far from the mouth of that navigable river.

This was probably a much better port in former days, the sea having for several ages been withdrawing from the *French* side of the channel to the inconceivable prejudice of their ports, and gaining ground on the shore of *England*. This appears particularly from the great difference in the present state of the channel of the *Isle of Wight* from what it was in the time of *Augustus Cæsar*, when it was dry at low water; and from the case of *Monstreuil sur mer*, which, tho’ formerly washed by an arm of the sea, lies now at some leagues distance, and hath long ago ceased to be an harbour. The lower part of the town is at this day washed by an inconsiderable river too narrow for navigation, and secured by a morass, running a great way higher up into the country through a valley perfectly level between two ridges of mountains: which being without any of the unevennesses of inland vales, hath all the air of a bay once filled with water, tho’ now deserted by the sea: and whoever casts a view on the like vallies between that place and *Abbeville*, may observe appearances enough to make him conclude, they have all undergone the same fate. These observations shew, that *Abbeville* was probably a very good port formerly, and it certainly lay very commodious for transporting over into *Britain*, as well the first inhabitants of this country, as the colonies, which, ^c*Cæsar* tells us, came over afterwards from *Belgium*, and possessed themselves of the southern and maritime parts of the island. Considering therefore the natural fondness, which all nations have for their mother country; and for the preservation of its name, there seems no manner of grounds to imagine, that the first plantation of *Great Britain* was made from any other quarter, or by any other people, than the *Britanni* of *Gaule*.

^d No ancient writer takes any notice of this usurper’s *British* forces retiring into *Armorica*; and *Suspicius Severus* a contemporary historian, a man

of

^b l. iv.^c l. iv.^d *De Bello Gallico*, l. v.

IT was common in the early ages of the world, for people to be called by several names, either owned by themselves, or imposed on them by others, insomuch that, of the infinite number of nations which inhabited *Spain* at the time it first came to be known to the *Romans*, there was scarce one of them but went by several denominations. New names were generally given to a people upon the arrival of new colonies in a country, and were taken from something in their qualities or condition, by which they were distinguished, or from some particular circumstance in their situation. Thus, when new colonies of inhabitants from among the *Belgæ* or *Germans*, came to fix their seats in the extreme parts of *Gaule*, the *Celtæ*, who had been settled there some ages before, began in the provinces adjoining to the abode of these new comers, to be called by the names of *Heneti*, *Veneti*, or *Senones*, all derived from the Celtic word *Hen*, in Latin *Senex*, and importing, what they really were, the *Old inhabitants*; whilst others, who dwelt on the *Sea-coast*, (and among these, the *Veneti* of *Bretagne* and *Normandy*, who seem to have always carried on a large commerce, and to have kept up a strict friendship and correspondence with this island) were from thence⁵ called by the general name of *Morini* or *Aremorici*, *Inhabitants of the sea coasts*. But names of this kind, being at first merely *appellative*, and serving rather to describe than denominate a people, could hardly be deemed *proper* ones, till they came by long and continual use to be in a manner consecrated, and at length so entirely appropriated, as in many cases to extinguish utterly all remembrance of the true name, by which such people were originally distinguished. Whereas of all names, those which are taken from the stock of which a nation is descended, are certainly the most ancient: and have this further advantage, that they point out to us the true original of a people; which is the next subject of enquiry with regard to the ancient inhabitants of *Britain*.

THAT they were a *Celtic* nation, and came hither from *Gaule*, is no longer doubted by any body: the perfect conformity between them and the old *Gaulois* in their manners, customs, habits, buildings, temper, warlike genius, superstitions of religion, and above all in their language, joined to the situation of the two countries, not allowing on this head the least room for dispute. This renders it necessary to trace the original of the *Celtæ*; the doing of which will discover, likewise, that of the *Britains*: a work, which, however at this distance of time it may appear impracticable, hath yet been attempted with success, and executed with so much learning and judgment by the late M. *Pezron* in his *Antiquité des Celtes* (wherein he hath been generally followed by other curious searchers into antiquity,) that there is little occasion of entering into a minute detail of those reasonings by which he hath at large supported his opinions, or into a tedious elaborate discussion of what he hath deduced already in the clearest manner, and hath proved by unexceptionable authorities.

Of the first inhabitants of Britain.

LET it suffice therefore to observe, that agreeably to the blessing, which God Almighty after the flood gave to *Noah* and his sons⁶, *That they should be fruitful and bring forth abundantly, and replenish the earth*; and to that which *Noah* himself pronounced particularly in favour of the eldest of his children⁷, that *God should enlarge Japhet*; those venerable progenitors of the present world did in fact multiply exceedingly. This, though the temperance of their diet and the regularity of their way of living might contribute something towards it, was yet chiefly ow-

of quality, and a native of *Aquitain*, who was at that very time with St. *Martin* at *Tours*, writing within less than ten years after, (too short a time for introducing a change in the old name of a country) and speaking of times more ancient, still

calls that province by the name of *Britannia*; tho' *Sidonius Apollinaris* not long after terms it *Armorica*.

⁵ The word *Mor* in Celtic signifying the Sea.

⁶ GEN. ix. 1. 7.

⁷ GEN. x. 21.

ing to the remains of the antediluvian vigour, not then quite worn out of their constitutions; and to the extraordinary length, to which their lives, by a particular providence in that state of the world, were extended. Hence, in about two hundred years after the Deluge, they found themselves in a condition to send out colonies of their descendants into different parts of the earth, to divide it among them, and, as their families increased, to form many distinct nations. The inspired author¹ of the book of *Genesis* hath preserved the names of the several heads of these families or nations, and transmitted them to us, with an account how they branched out of the common stem; adding at the conclusion of his genealogical narration, that *these were the families of the sons of Noah after their generations in their nations, and by these were the nations divided in the earth after the flood*. Hence, whenever any of these nations come in succeeding times to be mentioned either in the other historical, or in the prophetic books of the Old Testament, they are constantly denominated by the name of their founder thus recorded by *Moses*; a method, which hath been followed by the *Jewish* writers in all ages.

THE same divine authority assures us, that the *Isles of the nations*² were planted by the descendants of *Japhet*: Profane history gives the same account, and shews us further, that the greater part of *Asia* was peopled by his posterity; so widely were his borders and possessions extended. *Gomer*, or *Gamar* (as he is called in the *Septuagint*) the eldest of his sons, fixed his seat in the *Higher Asia*, to the east of the *Caspian Sea*, in the pleasant and fruitful countries of *Hyrkania*, *Margiana*, *Bactriana*, and *Sogdiana*; where he enjoyed all the advantages, which a rich soil, a temperate climate, the neighbourhood of the sea, and the convenience of fine rivers, naturally afford. The vast tract of land, that lay to the east and north-east of those countries, known by the general name of *Great Tartary*, was the portion of *Magog*, the second of *Japhet's* sons, and the father of the true *Scythians*. *Madai* the third son took possession of *Media*, contiguous to his brother *Gomer's* territories, but lying more south, and extending itself farther westward³. *Javan* or *Jovan* the fourth son, and the father of the *Jaones* or *Iones*, settled in the southern parts of the *Lesser Asia*; and from thence his descendants, passing into *Attica*, *Phocis*, and *Peloponnesus*, peopled all *Greece*, some parts of *Italy*, and the islands of the *Archipelago*: whilst *Tiras* or *Tirax*, the youngest, took possession of the more northern provinces of the *Lesser Asia*, running from the coast of the *Mediterranean* to the south-eastern extremity of the *Euxine*.

THE posterity of this last multiplied so exceedingly, and spread themselves so very early into the most distant parts, that under the names of *Thracians* and *Briges*⁴, perhaps so called from their living, not straggling in woods, (the too ordinary custom in those times,) but collected together in towns⁵, the characters of *Gens*⁶ *maxima* and *Gens antiquissima* were naturally given and justly allowed them by the ancients. For, after planting *Phrygia* and the adjoining countries lying on the *Euxine*, they passed over the *Thracian Bosphorus* into *Europe*, settled in *Thrace*, and from thence sent out their colonies, some northwards into *Poland* and *Russia*, where they gave the river *Niefter* the name of *Thyras*; whilst others, coasting along the *Danube*, and afterwards down the *Rhine*, penetrated as far as the western ocean.

¹ GEN. x.

² By this expression is meant not only the islands of the *Mediterranean*, but *Greece* also, and all the maritime parts of *Europe*, to which they passed by sea from *Palestine*.

³ The country where the ark rested is generally thought to be *Armenia*; but there are good reasons to think that mount *Ararat* lay in *Bactriana*, and that this last was the country whence mankind was propagated; the eldest son of *Gomer* remaining

there, whilst the second removed toward the rising sun and the younger directed their course towards the west.

⁴ *Wachter*, in pref. to *Glossar. German.* thinks they were called *Briges*, because a free people.

⁵ *Brige* in *Celtic* signifies a *Town*, whence, by transposition of letters, comes the *German*, *Birg*, *civitas*.

⁶ *Herod.* l. v. n. 3. l. ii. n. 2.

In those early days of the world, before speech was reduced to any certain rules; when there were no letters, books, or writings to settle a proper orthography and render it uniform; when every body took a liberty of spelling after their own manner, to express, as near as they could, the sound of a word, or what was their apprehension of that sound; it cannot be expected, but that these names of the same people, which in their original, (as all ancient languages are simple, and consist for the most part of monosyllables,) were *Thrax* and *Bryx*, should, in their declension and derivatives, meet with a good deal of variation. Every one sees by his own daily experience, how frequent it is for a man to be puzzled, even in his native language, by the unaccountable spelling of his correspondents: And whoever looks into *Rymer's* collection of our publick records, or reads the histories of this nation, and of the very next adjoining realm of *France*, wrote by *English* and *French* historians, cannot but observe the strange havock made by men of learning, in the names of persons and places in both those countries, to which they were respectively, strangers. It can therefore be no subject of wonder, that in ages utterly illiterate, when there was no guide, either to prevent the mistakes of the common people, (upon whom the use of words chiefly depends) in their pronunciation of the names of the mother nation, in cases where they intended to preserve them in their purity; or to correct any deviation of theirs, from the rules since received, for the forming derivative words; if they had a mind to assume, or give a colony, not the original name appropriated to the stock from whence it sprung, but some other, that might however shew the relation, which the new transplanted race bore to that of which they were descendants; it can't in such case, I say, be any subject of wonder, that the name of *Briges* should, in their transmigrations from one country to another, receive such alterations, as to allow the same people to be called in some countries ¹ *Phryges*, *Frixi*, *Frigones*, *Frisones*, *Frisii*, *Parisii*; and in others, *Brigantes*, *Brisones*, *Britones*, *Britanni*. Such variations are unavoidable, especially when so many colonies are sent out at different times to settle in distant regions, as were in the case of the *Phrygians*: Yet, after all, the variation is no greater in any of these names, than that made above a thousand years afterwards, (when the denomination of cities and nations was better fixed) by the learned *Greeks*, in the names of *Pæni* and *Punici* for a colony of the *Phœnices*.

'Tis really amazing what a number of colonies were sent abroad by the *Phrygians*. I make use of the word *Phrygians*, because it is the best known and generally used, to denote the people, that were the first planters of *Europe*, and known originally by the names of *Thraces* and *Briges*: For ² *Herodotus* tells us expressly, that they were always called *Briges* as long as they stayed in *Europe*; but when one of their colonies that inhabited the mountainous parts of *Macedonia* on the confines of *Thrace*, thought fit afterwards to remove thence into *Lesser Asia*; they then, together with the place of their abode, changed their name into *Phryges* or *Phrygians*. ³ *Conon* ascribes this to *Midas*; who had been a disciple of *Orpheus*, and ruling over the *Bryges* in *Thrace*, persuaded his subjects to cross the *Hellespont*, and to assume the name of *Phryges* upon their settlement in the country beyond *Myfia*. This fixeth the time of their remove and change of name to about thirty years before the *Trojan* war. But whenever it was, this *Thracian* people, afterwards called *Phrygians*, were the first nation that entered *Europe*, and for an age

¹ *Baxter's Gloss. Antiq. Brit. in v. BRIGANTES.* So *Galli*, *Gallici*, *Gallicani*, *Galatæ*: So the *Myfi*, another *Thracian* colony, were called *Mæsi*, *Maones*, *Meones* and *Merones*; so those afterwards called *Britains*, were, even in *Thrace* itself, called

by the various names of *Breges*, *Eregi*, *Briges*, *Bryces*, *Brycæ*, *Bricci*, *Bricesi*, *Brigii*, *Brygiences*, *Bebryces* and *Phryges*, to which *Stephanus* adds, *Brigantes*.

² l. 7. n. 73.

³ *Narrat. i.*

⁴ See *Strabo*, l. vii. p. 245. 326. l. xii. p. 550. *Stephan.* in dictis vocibus. *Conon* apud *Phot.* *Narrat. l. p. 424.*

or two had nobody to interfere with them in their plantations; no other people setting foot on this side the *Hellepont*, besides the *Jaones*, who settled in *Crete*, *Rhodes*, *Sicily* and other islands: but did not attempt for some ages to extend themselves further on the continent than *Greece*, and the adjacent parts of *Italy*, distinguished afterwards by the name of *Magna Græcia*. These were indeed very fine countries, and very agreeable settlements, but not comparable in point of extent to those of the *Phrygians*; who having peopled *Mæsia*, *Pannonia*, *Illyricum* and *Rhætia*, passed along the *Rhine* to the place where it empties itself into the sea, making settlements on both sides of the river; on the north, in the country ever since known by the name of *Frisia*, and from thence along the maritime provinces of *Germany*, those parts being generally first inhabited, as the inland were over-run with forests; and on the south upon the coasts of the *western ocean*. Others of their colonies, taking a different road, made their way by a nearer cut into the heart of *Gaul*.

A COUNTRY, to which nature hath been so prodigal of her blessings; seated in the happiest climate, watered with the finest rivers; favoured above others with a healthiness of soil, as well as lightness and serenity of air, proper to create a liveliness of spirits, and infuse a cheerfulness of temper, so necessary to make life agreeable; affording every where prospects, extremely delightful to the eye, and infinite in their variety; producing or capable of producing all the conveniencies, and even the superfluities of human life; might well have satisfied all the desires of the *Phrygians*, and put an end to their travels. But curiosity is boundless as well as eager; they soon made their way over the *Pyrenees* and spread their colonies through *Spain*, till they came to the very extremity of it, to the place where *Hercules* afterwards erected his famous pillars. They left, in the cities which they founded and in the names of rivers and mountains, monuments of themselves in all the countries, through which they passed, or in which they settled: some of these remain to this very day; notwithstanding the great changes that have since happened in those parts, the frequent removal and succession of inhabitants, different in their language as well as barbarous in their manners, and the vast number of ages which have flowed away, devouring as it were one another, and sufficient to bury all things past so long ago, in oblivion¹.

THE humour of making plantations in remote parts of the world, which might be at first the result of necessity, and the effect of a country being too much crowded by the multitude of its fruitful inhabitants, became soon a favourite mode; and was carried on with an eagerness, which it would not be easy for us fully conceive; were it not for the fury, with which we have known the wild project of the *Crusades* prosecuted, and all sorts of persons for three hundred years together embarked in the perillous adventures that attended expeditions to the *Holy Land*, and with which likewise, within the one hundred and fifty years last past, men exposed themselves to the horrible dangers and hardships they were sure to meet with in their voyages for discovering a north-east or north-west passage to the *East-Indies*. The first planters of *Europe* ran no such dangers; they had no frozen seas to pass; no shoals of ice, or extremities of cold, to guard against: They had not at land, so soon after the de-

¹ Of this sort are the people, known over *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, by the name of *Britannians*; the *Britanni* on the sea coasts of *Gallia Belgica*; the *Brigani* mentioned by *Pliny*, as seated in the *Alpes*; the *Brygian* mountains (as *Strabo* calls them) in *Illyria*; the town of *Brigitio*, now *Graun*, where the emperor *Valentinian* I. died in his expedition against the *Sarmatæ*; *Brixia* in *Gallia Cisalpinga*; the town of *Brigantium*, as *Ptolemy* calls it, or *Bergentium*, as it is named by *Aurelius*

Victor in *Pannonia*; another *Brigantium*, now *Bregenta* in *Rhætia*, near the lake of *Constance*, which was of old called the *Lacus Brigantinus*; another of the same name, now *Briangon* in *Dauphiné*; a *Brigæcium*, now *Oviado*, in the *Asturias*; a *Brigantium*, now *Braganza* in *Portugal*; and another of the same name, now *Britançus* or *Corunna*, called antiently *Portus Brigantinus*, in *Gallicia*.

luge, any number of ravenous beasts or venomous creatures to annoy them ; no enemy to attack their lives or interrupt their passage ; no difficulties to encounter in their way, but what arose, either from a necessity of carrying with them a moderate quantity of those simple provisions, which were then the common food of mankind, or from thick woods and large forests ; from marshes not yet drained of the waters, that, for want of a channel to carry them off, had subsided in their bottoms ; from the height of mountains, and the largeness, depth or rapidity of the stream of rivers, which they had occasion to pass ; difficulties not great in a gradual progress, and which every day suggested means of removing.

THE posterity of *Tiras* enjoyed their *European* settlements for some time without disturbance from any other quarter : But this quiet was at last interrupted by an invasion made by the descendants of his eldest brother *Gomer*. These being seated on the east of the *Caspian* sea, were there known at first by the common name of *Gomerians* or *Comarians* : and are expressly said by ¹ *Josephus*, ² *Ptolemy*, ³ *Eustathius* of *Antioch*, ⁴ *St. Jerome*, and ⁵ *Isidore* of *Seville*, to be the same people that were afterwards by the *Greeks* called *Celtæ*, and by a small alteration (since the *Celtic* C was always pronounced like a K,) *Galatæ*. *Dionysius*, *Pliny*, and *Mela* assign them the same situation ; and as a diversity in the nature of the countries they inhabited caused likewise some difference in their way of living, *Ptolemy* gives those, who led a savage life in the vast plains that lie between the head of the *Jaxartes* and mount *Imaus*, without any fixed habitations, roving up and down from place to place with their flocks and herds, like the *Nomades* of old, or as the *Tartars* in those very parts do now, the name of *Chomarians* ; and adding an aspirate to the word to make the pronunciation guttural, assigns that of *Chomarians* to the more civilized part of the nation, who, living sociably together in towns and villages, inhabited *Margiana* and *Bactriana* near the *Oxus*, on which their capital city *Chomara* was seated. It was these last, who, either on occasion of some dissention, or because the country was too much crowded by the multitude of its inhabitants, forced one of their clans to quit and retire beyond the mountains which bound *Margiana* on the south, and separate it from *Media*. These exiles found a refuge and settlement in a barren, mountainous tract of the last named country, and were called ⁶ *Parthi*, by a name expressing their condition of *exile* and *separation* ; a treatment which they seem to have resented so, as to brand the *Gomarians*, who had driven them out of their old possessions, with the names of *Scacæ* or *Sacæ*, to imply that they were *robbers*.

The expulsion of the *Parthi* proved but a temporary relief to the *Gomarians*. They still continued to multiply so exceedingly, that, however unwilling they seem to have been to quit their original habitations, they yet found themselves under a necessity of doing so, and of submitting to the fate of other nations. ⁷ *M. Perron* maintains it to be in the time of *Nachor* grandfather to *Abraham*, that they made an irruption into the ⁸ *Greater Armenia*, under the conduct of *Acmon*, the son of ⁹ *Maneus* : And from thence passing into *Pontus*, *Cappadocia*, and *Phrygia*, made themselves masters of those countries, and of the greatest part of the *Lesser Asia* ; where the memory of their leader was long preserved in several towns bearing the name of *Acmonia*.

¹ *Antiq. Jud.* l. i. c. 6.

² *Geogr.* l. vi. c. 11. 13.

³ *Comment. in Hexamer.* p. 57.

⁴ *Trad. Hebr. in Gen.*

⁵ *Orig.* l. ix. c. 2.

⁶ *Justin.* l. iv. c. 1. *Appian in Parthicus.*

Steph. de Urb. v. Παρθαίων.

⁷ They were so called as being son or partizans

of *Titæa*, and the name being derived from *Tit*, a *Celtic* word for *Earth*, was properly enough rendered by the *Greeks*, *Γηγυῖς*, and by the *Latins* *Terrigenæ* ; i. e. Sons of the Earth.

⁸ *Antiq. des Celtes*, p. 44.

⁹ *Strabo*, l. xi. *Steph. v. Ἀκμονία.* *Ptol. Geog.* l. v. c. 2.

ACMON fixed the chief feat of his empire in *Phrygia*: But his son ¹*Uranus* or *Calus*, a prince much addicted to astrology and augury, by which he pretended to discover future events and foretel revolutions in the heavens, and which seems to have given occasion to his name, *Ur-en* in *Celtic* signifying *a man of the heavens*, passed the *Bosphorus*, subdued ²*Thrace*, and extended his dominion over all the inhabited parts of *Europe*; plantations easily following the fate of their mother country. The *Gomarians* having made these conquests, began to be known, in the countries they had reduced, by other names, either assumed by themselves, or given them by others. Their martial disposition and great exploits procured them the names of *Celtae*, by which they were known to the *Greeks*, and of *Galli*, as the *Romans* called them; both *Celtic* words in their original, and signifying in that tongue, *powerful* and *valiant*; an honourable distinction, which they transmitted, with their warlike genius, down to their posterity. It was to their enormous size of body, or else to their insolence, that they owed the appellation of *Gigantes*; the skilful in the *Celtic* language deriving *Gigas* from *Gug* (*proud* or *insolent*) and *Guas* (*a man*) as they do *Gigantes* from *Giantos*, (*a giant*.) The name of ³*Titanes* under which they were very famous in the first ages of antiquity, was at first appropriated only to the royal family, and particularly to the children of *Uranus* by his wife *Titæa*; whose party they embraced in her quarrel with him, and enabled her to depose *Uranus*, and advance her son *Saturn* to the throne.

SATURN kept his usual residence in *Phrygia*, whence the greatest part of his other territories had been planted; and where the scarlet or purple dye was first invented. This prince, thinking it no ill policy to distinguish himself from his subjects by some marks of dignity in his exterior figure which might strike their eye, affected to appear in public, clad in a robe of that colour⁴; which from thence came to be for many ages appropriated to monarchs: He was likewise the first, that ever graced his temples with a ⁵diadem. It was on this last account, that the *Phrygians* gave him the appellation of *Kroon*; which in their language signifies *crowned*, and occasioned the *Greeks* to give him the name of *Cronos*. He was, like his father, addicted to the science of astrology, and to all the religious superstitions, which the order of sacrificers and diviners, established under the names of *Curetes* and *Corybantes* among the *Gomarian Phrygians*, seem to have brought with them from *Bactria*; where the *Samanæi*, and the first *Zoroaster* were soon after famous in those respects. These diviners, the only oracles then in the world, occasioned the loss of his crown, by suggesting to him that he was in danger of being deposed by his son ⁶*Jupiter*; a prediction which made the stronger impression on him, because it was agreeable to what *Uranus*, (as *Apollodorus* says) in the anguish he felt on being deprived of his dominions by his own children, had told *Saturn* that he should be treated by his own son in the same manner. *Saturn* jealous in his nature, and conscious of the conduct he had observed towards his own father, easily imagined *Jupiter* capable of forming a like design; and by making war upon him, he hastened his own ruin; being defeated

¹ The *Germans*, a *Celtic* nation, have an undisputed tradition of their being descended from *Askenas* the eldest son of *Gomer*, and in *Tacitus's* time they derived themselves from *Tuiscon*: But whether this last name be a corruption of the former, or his son *Mannus* was the same person with *Manus* here mentioned, is matter of meer conjecture; it is however very probable that *Acmon* was a descendant of *Askenas*, because *Ascanius* and *Ascania* are very common names of persons and places in *Phrygia*, which till *Acmon's* time had been possessed by the *Thracians* or *Phrygians*, and

easily fell under his power, upon being stripped of its inhabitants by the plantation of *Europe*.

² *Phurnut. de Nat. Deor. c. 1. Hesch v. 'Ακρωίδης.*

³ *Diocl. Sic. l. iii. Apollodor. de Deor. origine, initio.*

⁴ *Tertul. de pallio, & l. vi. de Testimon. Animæ.*

⁵ *Test. de Corona, c. 7. Lact. Inst. l. i. c. 13. Divd. See l. iii.*

⁶ *Lact. l. i. c. 14. Jul. Firmic. l. De error. Profan. Relig.*

in battel, and forced to abandon *Greece* and all the east to the conqueror. Upon this disaster, he fled to *Italy*; and being supported by his brother *Titan's* family, who seem to have ruled in the western provinces of *Europe*, the war was carried on by sea and land for several years: till the *Titans* were at last totally overthrown in a decisive battle fought near ¹*Tartesa*, a town of *Spain* near *Cadiz*; and being left without any other resource, were forced to submit to *Jupiter*. *Saturn* did not long survive this defeat; but died, and was buried in ²*Sicily*, about ten years after his first retreat into *Italy*; leaving to *Jupiter* the quiet possession of all his dominions.

THIS prince applied himself, during the rest of his reign, to the administration of justice, the suppressing of rapine and violence, the civilizing of his people, the improvement of commerce, and the encouragement of arts and sciences. The *Cretan* ³Historians bestow great elogiums on him for his prudence, justice, and other virtues; and it is generally agreed, that he did a great deal of good to his subjects, particularly to those of *Greece*, among whom he ordinarily resided in the fine part of *Thessaly* near *Mount Olympus*. There he allowed every body access, to lay before him either their grievances or such discoveries as they had made of things, which they conceived might be useful for human life, and serviceable to the publick. The government of the west he committed to his brother *Dis*, who having found a vast quantity of gold and silver in ⁴*Spain*, was thence called *Pluto* or *Plutus*, i. e. *the rich*, and respected by the *Greeks* and *Latins* as the god of wealth. His being ruler of *Gaule* and *Spain*, the most western parts of the continent of *Europe*, procured him the title of the god of *Hades* or ⁵*Inferorum*; the ancients looking on the *East*, from whence the light springs, to be the higher part of the earth, and the *West* to be the lower, because there the sun at setting seems to fall into the ocean.

BEFORE *Jupiter's* time, the *Gomarians* were a rough, haughty, insolent and imperious people, who thought every thing lawful they had a mind to do, and every thing their own, they could get into their power; and the world had been a continual scene of rapine, oppression, and depredations; a fact which the uniform accounts, given by all the ancients of the conduct of that people, under the name of giants and *Titans*, leave us no room to question. It was this prince, who, by his great abilities, the equity of his laws, the wisdom of his regulations, and the impartiality of his justice, first corrected that furious temper of theirs, which breathed nothing but violence, and reduced them to a state of order and civility. A long and peaceful reign of sixty two years, ⁶ computing it only from the death of *Saturn*, enabled him to establish his regulations by an uniform observance thereof in the practice of his subjects, and a continual experience of their utility; to carry on his improvements in arts to some perfection, and to inure his people so thoroughly to the advantages of a civil and quiet life, that, in a sense of the blessings they had enjoyed under him, they held his memory in extraordinary veneration; and such honours were paid him after his death, throughout the vast extent of his territories, that, whatever they were in their first original, they soon came to be really divine. *Eubemerus*, *Ennius*, *Thallus*, and others make him contemporary with *Belus*, the first king of the *Affyrians*; which agrees well enough with the Sibylline verses; placing him in the tenth generation after the deluge; so that he lived about three hundred years before *Moses*, and dying in *Crete* at the age of ⁷120, was buried at *Gnossius*.

¹ *Didym. Schol. in Iliad. viii. § 473. Justin.*
1. xliv. c. 4.

² *Philocor. ap. Clem. Alex. Admon. ad Gentes.*

³ *Diod. Sic. l. iii. Callim. Hymn in Jovem.*

⁴ *Strabo l. v.*

⁵ *Lat. Inst. l. i. c. 11.*

⁶ *Suidas v. πῆκος. Chron. Alex. p. 87. 89.*

⁷ *Ennius & Cicero apud Lat. Inst. l. i. c. 11.*
Callim. Hymn. in Jov. Jul. Firmic. de error. prof. Relig.

JUPITER was the last universal monarch of the empire of the *Titans*; for being divided at his death, it crumbled in a little time to nothing. *Crete* he assigned to his son *Cres*, who had entered himself in the discipline of the *Curetes*, and parcelled out the rest of his dominions among his other children, his friends and relations¹; all of which had some share of his territories; though none had so considerable a part of them as *Mercury* his son by *Maia*, a daughter of *Atlas* his cousin german. This prince seems, after the death of *Pluto*, to have had the government of *Gaule* and *Spain* in his father's lifetime; to which, on *Jupiter's* death, was added *Italy*; where, under the name of *Faunus*, he reigned thirty five years², being sole monarch of all the west of *Europe*. He was ingenious, politic, and eloquent; well qualified by these talents to polish the roughness of the people he was to govern: Nor did he spare any pains, as well to improve himself, as to instruct his subjects in all useful sciences. It was with this view, or perhaps to perfect himself in the knowledge of auguries, divinations, and those incantations, which then passed under the name of magic, and were so much in vogue among the *Titans*, (for he was the diviner of his family, whom they consulted on all occasions, the interpreter of the will of the gods, and for that reason called by the *Greeks*, *Ermes*³) that he made⁴ three voyages into *Egypt*. But of all the measures he took for civilizing the *Celtæ*, and advancing the welfare of his kingdoms; there was none upon which he was more intent, or which was more likely to answer his purpose, than the encouragement he gave to commerce; and the means he used to link them together in society and friendship by a mutual intercourse in the way of merchandise. It was for this reason, that the name of⁵ *Mercury* was given him; and he was look'd upon by all the heathen world, as the god of gain, of commerce and of merchandise, and as the patron of merchants and travellers. That of *Teutat*, (the *Teutates* of⁶ *Lucan*,⁷ *Laëtantius*, and⁸ *Livy*) was very properly given him by those, who had lived under the more immediate influences of his government; and from whom, by employing all his care and concern for their good, he well deserved the⁹ title of the *father of his people*. Hence (as¹⁰ *Cæsar* tells us) the people of *Gaule* distinguished themselves by their worship of him in a singular manner; considering him as the inventer of all arts; erecting to his honour abundance of statues, which they treated with the highest respect; and preferring him to all other Deities. The *Germans*, who may possibly have derived their name of *Teutones* from his of *Teuth*, and among whom he had planted some colonies, treated¹¹ him with the same distinction; adoring him as the greatest of their gods; with so much zeal, that the *Romans*, and other strangers, who came amongst them, could not take a better way to ingratiate themselves with that people, than by erecting altars and temples in his¹² honour. *Mercury* died about the time that the *Israelites*, upon the invitation of *Joseph*, first minister to *Pharaoh*, went down into *Egypt*; and¹³ *Livy* tells us, that a large monument erected over

¹ *Emmian ap Laët. ib.*

² *Suidas v. Πῆκος & Chr. Alex. p. 105.*

³ From *Armes*, a Celtic word signifying *Divination*.

⁴ *Cyril. Alex. contra Julian.*

⁵ *i. e.* in Celtic, a man of merchandise, from *Mere*, merchandise, and *Ur*, a man.

⁷ *Pharsal. l. i.*

⁶ *Inst. l. i. c. xxi.*

⁸ *Lib. xxvi. c. 24.*

⁹ *Teut.* in Celtic, people, and *Tat*, father.

¹¹ *De Bello Gallie. l. vi.* ¹⁰ *De more German.*

¹² *Tacit. de more German. Ed. Gronov. Ultraject. 1721. p. 388.*

Many of their inscriptions have been dug up formerly on the *Gallie* side of the *Rhine*, and have been published by several authors; but there is one lately discovered on the banks of that river near

Straßburg, and preserved by Mr. *Cheffelin* canon of that church, and royal professor in the university; which, I imagine, hath not yet appeared in the world; and as it seems to have been erected in the time of *Constantine*, by a native of these *British* isles, I have thought it not improper to be here inserted.

IN. H. DD.
DEO. MERCVR
IO. AEDEM. AR
AM. ETIAN
VS. MAGISS. ET.
MAGISSIUS. H
IBERNVS. CA.
LEG. XXII. PPF.

¹³ *Lib. xxvi. c. 44.*

him, and commonly called by the natives of the country, *Mercur Teutat*, was still in the times of *Annibal* and *Scipio* to be seen in *Spain* near *Carthagera*. With him expired all the glory of the *Celtic* empire, which had lasted between two and three hundred years, letters not being known early enough in this western quarter of the world to perpetuate the memory of his successors, in case he left any children to inherit his dominions; of which we have no account. Nor would *Greece* itself in all probability have afforded, at this distance of time, any of the materials made use of by the learned *Pezron* in his curious history of the princes above mentioned, if they had not, by the idolatrous veneration of a senseless people, been exalted from the rank of heroes to that of deities; which made their votaries zealous to preserve some memorials of their actions by inscriptions upon pillars of the most ancient temples dedicated to their worship. For thence is it, that *Eubemerus*, whom *Ennius* translated, and other heathen writers, pretended to derive the accounts they published of these deified monarchs; And those very accounts would have been for the most part lost to the world, had not the learned apologists and advocates for *Christianity* in the primitive times of the church, taken care to preserve them, as unexceptionable evidences of the falshood of the pagan religion; which put people upon paying divine worship to those, who had appeared, by their lives and actions, to be as very mortals as themselves.

III. I HAVE given, chiefly from M. *Pezron*, this short account of the first monarchs, of these western parts of the world, whose language was undoubtedly the *Celtic*¹, and whose names appear evidently, to be taken from that language; in order to form a conjecture about the time, when these *British* isles were first planted. *Geffrey* of *Monmouth* fixeth it about the year 1100 before *Christ*: and tells a formal story of *Brutus*, the great grandson of *Aeneas*, coming hither with a numerous body of forces, descended of a remnant of *Trojans*, who, after the destruction of their capital city, settled either in *Greece* or *Italy*. The substance of his relation, was taken from a manuscript in the *British* language, brought from the *Armorican Bretagne*; which he translated into Latin, and with the addition of *Merlin's* prophecies, speeches of generals, and some few other embellishments of his own, published under the title of *Historia Britonum*.

Of the time when BRITAIN was first planted, and by whom.

THE story itself is so utterly destitute of all support, from any ancient genuine history, and the circumstances of it so manifestly fabulous; that it would be lost time to give it a serious refutation. It was impossible for the *Britains* who had no letters, or at least committed nothing to writing, before the *Romans* came among them, to preserve any such regular series of historical events, as is given in that manuscript. That they had not, for several hundred years after *Christ*, any such historical accounts, or any written monuments of transactions in former times, is a fact positively asserted by *Gildas*; who wrote *A. D.* 564, and confirmed by *Nennius*, who lived about the middle of the ninth century. And though I am willing to pay all imaginable deference to the old tradition of any country, in so material and interesting a point, as that of its original, yet I can see no manner of reason to think, the old *Britains* had any such tradition.

To account in some measure for the story of *Brutus*, the foundation on which the rest of *Geffrey's* history is grounded; it must be observed, that the *Romans*, deriving their original from the *Trojans*; and this being set off by *Virgil* with all the colourings and advantages, that the most beautiful imagination, and the finest poetic genius could give it, in his *Aeneis*; made most of the *European* nations fond of any pretence, that would entitle them to descent from a race of people, which

¹ Saturn from *Sadorne*, strong, potent: *Juno* from *Gwyn*, fair: *Venus* from *Gwen*, white: *Apollo*, i. e. *ap Haul* or *ap Henlyn*, *filius solis*: *Diana*, i. e. spotless, chaste, etc. See *Mon. Antiq.* p. 43.

those conquerors of the world thought it a point of glory to own for their ancestors. This humour was carried to so extravagant an height, that even the *Greeks*, in the emperor *Justinian's* time, were desirous to be thought descended from those very *Trojans*, which all *Greece* had formerly joined in a ten year's war to destroy: And in an history of the *French* nation, wrote in the reign of the succeeding emperor *Justinus junior* by one *Hunibaldus*, who pretends to have drawn his account, of the transactions of near a thousand years before the death of *Clevis I.* from the songs of bards, and the writings of *Flamens*, that fabulous author ascribes the original of the *Franks*, to *Francio* a *Trojan*, son to king *Priamus*. It was this *Romance*, which is interlarded with some passages of the *Roman* history, that served for a plan to the compiler of *Geffrey's* manuscript; which was undoubtedly composed after the time of *Nennius*; who, though he doth indeed mention *Brito* or *Brutus*, gives however such¹ inconsistent accounts of him, and seems so entirely ignorant of every thing that passed in this island before *Julius Cæsar's* invasion; that it is very plain, the story of *Brutus* was not settled, nor the history of his successors invented, till after *A. D.* 858. But whenever they were framed, and it was thought convenient to publish them, they could not well fail of passing current in an ignorant age, and of being readily received by a people, for whose honour they were in appearance calculated. This is still the more easy to be conceived, if there was any notion, previously entertained by the nation, of their being descended from the *Phrygians*; which it is very probable there was, because it was really the case; for being once persuaded of the thing in general, they would hardly except to any particular manner of tracing the descent.

SUCH a general notion may very reasonably be supposed to have prevailed among them; and the rather, because this descent of theirs seems to be sufficiently pointed out, and the memory of it to be preserved, in the name of the *Brigantes*, who were known to be, what *Cæsar* calls, the *Aborigines*, the first inhabitants of this island. This was certainly the old tradition of the natives; not only in his time, agreeably to what he tells us of their first coming over from the opposite coasts of² *Gaule*; but also in *Bede's*, who, living in the heart of the country of the *Brigantes*, speaks of it, as their received opinion, that *Great Britain* was first planted *ex Armoricano tractu*³; not from the particular province of *Bretagne*, but from the whole tract of the sea coast, which, including that province, extended from thence along the *British Channel*, to the mouth of the *Rhine*. Thus, the *Anonymus Ravennas*, who, though he was somewhat older than *Bede*, yet wrote in his time, at the latter end of the seventh century, expressly includes the coast of *Normandy* in this tract, which he distinguishes by the name of *Britannia in paludibus*, and which running from thence through the county of *Penthieu*, where *Pliny's* *Britanni* were seated, and the *Morini*, (a name of the same import, as *Aremorici*) terminated at last in the coast of *Flanders*; where the same geographer places the *Alo-brites*; or (as the word is read in the *Vatican* manuscript of this author) *Alo-briges*. Small alterations of names are, in a long course of ages, unavoidable; and considering the changes that must be made in countries by the succession of new inhabitants, and by other accidents, it is really wonderful that any affinity or resemblance at all should for any considerable length of time be preserved. We see however this affinity of name, between the inhabitants of this island and those of the coast on the continent of *Gaule*, continued to the end of the seventh century in the *Alo-Brites*, or *Gallo-Britones* of⁴ *Gallia Belgica*.

¹ Making him one while a *Roman* consul, at other times a son of *Hesichio*, and putting him in the third, fourth, and eighth generation from *Aneas*.

² *Lib. de bello Gothico*.

³ *Hist. Eccl.* l. i. initio.

⁴ The people of the *Armorican Bretagne*, call their country at this day *Brèje*, and their language

THERE still remains another point to be examined; whether the *Britains*, or *Brigantes*, of this island derive their original from the *Phrygians*, before or after this people came to be mixed with the *Gomarians*, upon *Acmon's* settlement in *Phrygia*. The decision of this depends much upon a fact, which cannot easily be cleared; there being no materials preserved of events in these western parts of the world, before they came to be known to the *Romans*, sufficient to enable us to judge, whether the narrow *Isthmus*, which once joined *Britain* to the continent, was broke through at the flood, or washed away afterwards by the fury of storms and the violence of the sea, in some of the dark ages between the time of *Mercury* and that of *Julius Cæsar*. In this latter case, we may reasonably think it to have been planted by the *Phrygians* alone, at the same time with *Gaule*, and within two hundred years of the deluge; but if it had been always an island from the time of the flood, it was in all probability peopled, after they came to be incorporated with the *Gomarians*. For though these last might, as conquerors, have the rank of nobles in comparison of the others, and enjoy a pre-eminence on all occasions, there is no doubt but the united nations were alike concerned in all the conquests that were made in the time of *Acmon's* successors, and in all the colonies which were afterwards sent out to plant and cultivate the west of *Europe*.¹ Mr. *Camden* seems entirely of opinion, that the first inhabitants of this island, came from the *Gomarians*, “the proper and peculiar name of the *Britains*, being called (as the *Welsh*, their genuine remains, call themselves at this day) *Cumero*, *Cymro* and *Cumeri*, like as “a *British* or *Welsh* woman, *Kumeræ*, and the tongue itself *Kumeraeg*.” This of itself is a strong presumption, and he inforces it with several reasons, to which I readily subscribe.

BUT as he doth not seem to take within his view, or to offer any conjecture about the time when this island was first planted, I shall therefore observe further, that the first *Phrygians* do not appear to have had any knowledge of sea-affairs; and therefore (whilst the *Jæones*, and their descendants, the *Æolians* and *Dorians*, passed by sea into *Greece*, and planted that country, *Crete*, and other islands in the *Ægean*, and *Ionian* seas) they made their way by land through *Thrace*, and the countries south of the *Danube*, into *Gaule* and *Spaine*; where the *Gomarians* in the reign of *Uranus* found them settled, but not crowded enough to be under any necessity of adventuring cross the sea in search of new habitations; that whether the *Gomarians* had acquired any skill in the building and sailing of ships, whilst they were seated on the borders of the *Caspian* sea, near the mountains of *Ararat*, where the ark, the first model of shipping, had rested and remained for some ages, or whilst they abode on the shoar of the *Euxine*, they were certainly very powerful at sea, when they had reduced *Phœnicia*, *Greece*, and all the colonies of the *Ionians* in the *Mediterranean*; that, accordingly the ancient *Greek* historians, in their accounts of the wars of the gods, speak of several naval engagements between *Jupiter* and the *Titans* during their dispute for the throne of *Saturn*; and that the *Gomerians*

Drizonec: The geographer of *Ravenna* calls the *Frisians* indifferently, *Prifones*, *Prisi*, and *Frigo-*
nes^a: And it is very probable that these last were
anciently called *Britanni*, as well as the inhabi-
tants along the sea-coast south of the *Rhine*; other-
wise, to say nothing of what *Procopius* affirms,
that this island was inhabited by the *Frisians* as
well as the *Saxons*, and that the sea between *Scot-*
land and *Ireland* is called *Mare Frisium* by ^b *Nau-*
ninus, and *Forigi* by the *Irish*, it will not be easy
to account for the name which the soldiers of Ger-

manicus gave to a plant, which the *Frisians* shewed
them, as growing in their country, and which
the *Romans* from thence called *Herba Britan-*
nica.

¹ *Discourse of the first inhabitants, before his*
Britannia, p. 10, 11.

² So the north west of *Britain* from *Lancashire*
to *Dumbritton Frith* was called *Cumbria*, and the
great river *Humber* was originally spelt and pro-
nounced *Chumber*.

^a *Baxter in Gloss. Antiq. Brit.* p. 21, observes that these three last names are only varied denominations of the same people, as
Britones and *Britanni*. ^b *Illust. Brit.* c. 37.

and the *Phrygians* who came with them, entering *Gaule* as conquerors, and having the whole land at their disposal, would naturally chuse for themselves the most commodious situations, as well on the sea-coasts, as by the sides of great rivers; which being more capable of improvement, with less trouble and expence than the inland parts of a country over-run with woods, that must be cut down before the ground could be cultivated, were generally the first planted, and the best peopled; and besides the conveniences which they afford at all times, were in those ages still more eligible, because of the sustenance of human life, which fishing afforded. These are some of the reasons, which induce me to think, that the *Gomarians*, with their new clans of *Phrygians*, among other the like situations, settled themselves in the maritime provinces of *Gaule*, opposite to *Great Britain*.

¹ MR. Baxter indeed, who allows the *Brites*, *Briges*, *Britones*, *Britanni* and *Brigantes* to be all the same name, though thus varied by a diversity of dialects, supposes the *Alo-brites*, to be a people of the *Belgæ*². He supposeth, that the *Britains* who inhabited that part of the sea-coasts of *Gaule*, when the *Belgæ* came to settle among them, gave them the name of *Alo-brites*, because the *Celtic* nations used to distinguish all *new comers*, by the name of *Alli*, or *Galli*, which in their language, signifies *strangers*: And this is the only reason he is pleased to assign in support of his conjecture. But though this may be allowed as a reason, why those *Belgæ* should be called *Alli* or *Galli*, i. e. *foreigners*, it will hardly prove them to be called *Alo-brites*, or foreign ³ *Britains*.

As a great part of *Germany*, was peopled from *Gaule*, and the *Belgæ* were certainly of *Gallic* original, and spake the *Celtic* tongue, I make no question but they were a colony of the *Volcæ*, (*B* and *V* being continually used for one another) and either of the *Volcæ Tectosages*, who settled in the *Hercynian* forest, or perhaps of the *Arecomii*, who inhabited that vast tract of mountainous country, which runs from the side of the *Rhone*, through the *Vivarais* and *Cevennes* to the *Mediterranean*. For though historians do not mention any colonies of theirs being sent abroad, as they do of the *Volcæ Tectosages*, who possessed the more western parts of *Languedoc* and *Gascony*, yet since they undoubtedly multiplied as fast as the other, and inhabited a country much more barren, and less able to support a large increase of people, they must, in the nature of the thing, have been forced to take the same method of disburthening themselves of their too great numbers, and in probability much earlier than the other; too early perhaps to allow such an event to be taken notice of by historians. It was natural too for the *Briges*, that were planted on the coast of *Flanders* before the *Gomarians* came to invade them, to call their *Phrygian* country-men, who came along with those invaders, to settle among them, by the name of *Alo-brites* or *Alo-briges*; though it could not, with any propriety of speech, be applied to the *Belgæ*. Agreeably hereto, I am apt to think, that the true ancient name of that people, whom

¹ v. ALVION, AREMORICI, BRIGANTES, and BRITANNI.

² He thinks these *Belgæ* were about the time of *Camillus*, drove out of *Germany*, by the *Cimbri*, and coming thence settled on this side the *Rhine* in *Gallia Belgica*. From thence he imagines they sent afterwards some of their colonies into this island, who took possession of all the southern provinces lying opposite to *Gaule* on the coasts of the *English* channel; and that the old inhabitants, who were driven out by them, grew upon this occasion less fond of the name of *Brigantes*, and assumed that of *Cambri* or *Cameri*; which served to preserve the memory of their true original.

³ There are several learned men indeed, that derive the word *Gallus*, from the *Celtic* *Al* or *Gal*, which answers to the *Greek*, ἄλλος; tho' M. *Pezron* chooses to derive it from *Gallu*, *posse*, *valere*, and *Galluas*, which, in *Celtic*, is powerful and valiant: And in this sense, it is entirely of the same import with the word *Celtæ*. But whencesoever the word *Galli* was derived, it is certainly as ancient a name for the people of *Gaule*, as that of *Celtæ*; for both were assumed or given at the same time, when the *Gomarians* conquered and settled in that country, above 1600 years before the *Belgæ* were so much as heard of in the world, at least under the name of *Belgæ*.

the Romans called *Allo-broges*¹, might be *Allo-briges*, i. e. the new-come *Briges* of *Phrygians*, to distinguish them from their country men, that were the first planters. 'Tis certain, at least, that these were a *Celtic* nation; that there is no account of any other nation's coming to settle in those parts after the *Gomarians* had taken possession of *Gaule*, to whom the name of *Foreigners* might be absolutely applied; and that these very ² people are called *Allo-bryges* by *Apollodorus*, and *Allo-briges* as well by *Polybius* as by all other *Greek* writers; a better authority, because more ancient, than the *Romans*, who seem first to have introduced the name of *Allo-briges*. If we should suppose that, even after the settlement of the *Gomarians* in *Phrygia* and their incorporation with the natives of that country some distinction should still be kept up between them and the *Briges*, with regard to their particular tribes, and the condition of their persons; yet it may reasonably be presumed, that they spake the same *Gomerian* or *Celtic* language, and that they naturally fell into the same customs, and into an uniformity of dress; and that when they came as fellow adventurers to settle in a distant part of the world, they would fix their seats as near one another as could be done with convenience. We see accordingly that, as the *Gomarians* fixed theirs in *Provence* and *Languedoc*, maritime countries lying on the *Mediterranean*, from whence they might easily correspond with the chief seat of their empire, and be wafted thither, or receive supplies from thence on occasion; so the *Allo-broges*, (whose capital city was *Vienna* on the *Rhone*) settled in *Dauphine*, a province contiguous to the others, and with them, making up the *Roman* province, known by the name of *Gallia Narbonensis*, but called formerly by that of *Gallia Braccata*³.

THE name of *Gallia Braccata*, by which the *Narbonensis* was called, being given to distinguish it from other parts of *Gaule*, was taken from the peculiar dress of the

¹ This word is by etymologists derived from *Al*, *alios*, and *Bro* (in *Irish Bruach*) a country.

² *Steph. de urbibus*, v. Ἀλλόβρυγες.

³ The old and new inhabitants, seem to have lived intermixed in that province; but the latter in much greater numbers than the former, as a curious man, acquainted with the *Persian* and *Oriental* languages, may easily observe; though perhaps this may arise from the *Gomerians* changing the names of places as well as of rivers in various instances, upon their settlement in those countries. For I judge it to be on that occasion and not on account of *Arar*, the brother of *Celtiberius*, his being drowned in the *Saone*, a little above *Lyon*, (a relation which seems plainly fabulous) that this river lost its ancient name of *Brigulus*, given it by the ancient *Briges*, (as the *Brigantes* upon their settling in *Ireland*, gave that of *Brigus* or *Pirgus* to the river now called *Barrow*) and assumed that of *Arar*. The syllables *Ar*, *Arc*, and *Ac*, so common in the *Persian*, *Turkish*, and other oriental tongues, especially in the beginning or ending of the names of persons, places and rivers; so unusual or rather unknown in those of *Thrace* and *Phrygia*, and yet so frequent in *Languedoc* and *Aquitane*, seem plainly to point out an eastern original. The word *Languedoc*, seems to be derived from the same source; being undoubtedly taken from the old name of *Occi-tania*; which, as *Tan*, in the *Persian* tongue, signifies a country, points it out to be the country of the *Oxii*, *Uxii*, or *Ocii*,

names of people seated as well in the ancient *Parthia*, as in *Bactriana* on the banks of the *Oxus*: The *Volæ*, as well the *Tello-sages*, as the *Arecomii*, seem to have come from the same parts from the *Comi* a people of *Bactriana*, and from *Balch*, a considerable region in the further part of that country; the capital whereof, called *Balch* to this day, seated towards the head of the *Oxus*, (*M. Herbelot* tells us, from the old *Persian* writers) was once the seat of some of the *Parthian* princes before the time of *Cyrus*, and was founded by *Kaimarath* or *Ghumarath*, the first king of *Parthia*; who, though their writers generally repute him a grandson of *Sem*, might possibly, according to the sound of the name, be really *Gomer*. The *Cavari*, who inhabited the *Venaïscin* and the country that runs along the side of the *Rhone* from *Vienne*; as some say, or, as others think, from *Arausio*, to *Arclas* if not the same as the *Gavri* near *Herac* on the borders of *Khorassan*, the more modern name of a vast country which comprehends the *Bactriana*, *Ariana*, *Margiana*, and perhaps the *Hyrcania* of the ancients, might probably owe their name, like them, to their situation in a plain at the foot of mountains; the word *Gavr* signifying a plain, in the *Persian* language. The *Arax* and *Aura*, rivers of *Gallia Braccata*, and *Samar* and *Sabis* in the *Belgica*, are plainly of *Eastern* original; so also are the *GANALI* and *Geberni* mountains;^b and it would be easy to multiply instances of the like nature. There want not the like

^a In the province of *Ariana* adjoining to *Bactriana*, the names of all the different clans of people begin with *Ar*; as *Arii*, *Arcii*, *Ariaspe*, *Arachosi*, *Arachote*, *Orice*, *Ori*, which are all the people that inhabit it, according to *Collarius*.

^b The *Baccarii*, near *Embrun*, mentioned in the *Notitia Imperii*, might perhaps be *Bactriani*, the *Persians* having in all ages called that country, *Bokbure*; or else of *Sogdiana* or the *Transoxana*, the capital of which, till the time of *Genghis Khan*, was *Bokhara*, a place still famous in those parts.

the inhabitants of those provinces; who wore *Braccæ*, trowfes striped, and of various colours, serving for both hose and breeches: as the ancient *Britons* did of old, and the *Irish*, as well as the highlanders of *Scotland*, continued to do till within our memory. And this being, as ¹ *Herodotus* tells us, a distinguishing part of the dress of the *Sacæ* of *Amyrgæa* or *Margiana*, from whence the *Gomerians* brought it to these western parts of *Europe*, we may well conclude that they settled in great numbers in the *Gallia Braccata*: and though perhaps more intermixed with *Phrygians*, on the north west coasts of *Gaule*, so as to be there called by the first planters *Allo-briges*, yet it is from them chiefly (as the multitude of rivers in all parts of this island, called by the names of *Oxe*, *Ouse*, *Axe*, the same as the *Oxus*, *Ochus*, *Axes* of *Bactriana*, and the *Welsh* language so full of gutturals, and agreeable to the *Persian* and oriental tongues, leave little room to doubt) that the first inhabitants of this island derive their origine; though the agreement between the old *Britains* and the *Thracians* in their temper, manners, usages in civil, and rites in religious matters, leave little room to doubt; but that the *Gomerian* or *Cymmerian* colony, first planted here, had in it a great intermixture of *Briges* or *Phrygians*.

As to the time when this island was first planted, there seems to be no season favourable enough for such an undertaking, till the reign of *Jupiter*; and considering the eagerness with which in those ages the different nations of the world in general, and the *Gomerians* in particular, pushed their conquests, and extended their plantations, it cannot reasonably be deferred longer. *Uramus* was the first of the *Gomerian* princes that passed into *Europe*; and it is uncertain in what part of his reign he entered upon that expedition; but whenever it was, the subduing of *Thrace*, the passing to the furthest extremities of the west, and the reducing of *Gaule*, *Spain*, and all the intermediate countries to his obedience, was undoubtedly the work of many years; nor could he well have compleated his conquests, till the latter end of his reign, when the troubles that arose in his family, by the intrigues of his wife, and the open rebellion of his son, must necessarily hinder him from pushing them farther. *Saturn*, from the first beginning of his, was involved in a civil war with his elder brothers, which lasted several years; and though an accommodation was at last patched up between them by the mediation of friends, it was so very precarious and so ill observed, that scarce any part of his life was free from trouble; and all writers agree, that the ten last years of it, after he had lost all the cast to *Jupiter*, and had retired into *Italy*, were wholly taken up with the wars of the *Titans*, who seemed to espouse his quarrel. They agree likewise, that the earth was a scene of continual disorders, murders, rapines, and all kinds of violence, till the reign of *Jupiter*, who effectually suppressed every thing of that nature, and by his constant vigilance and great skill in the affairs of government, and continual attention to whatever might promote the public good, secured his subjects in the enjoyment of their properties, and animated their industry in cultivating and extending their plantations. The long and peaceful reign of a prince of this temper and turn of politicks, was of all others, the most proper and likely season for such an attempt, as the planting of *Britain*. The prospect of the island, offering itself every day to the view of the nearest inhabitants on the continent, was too inviting not to raise their curiosity, and too continual a temptation to be long resisted:

like vestiges of the *Briges*, not only in the inland and woody povinces of *Gaule*, (to which on the *Gomerian* conquest they were forced to retire) but in the maritime and extreme parts of the country; thus we find the *Caletes* in the *Pais de Caux*, the *Latr-briges* on the borders of the *Allo-briges*, the *Niis-briges* in *Aquitaine*, the *Bebryces* on the coast

about *Narbonne*, which caused the adjoining sea to be called of old the *Mare Bebrycium*, and other *Bebryces* in *Spain*; all which seem clearly to have been colonies of the *Keltes*, *Briges* and *Bebryces* of *Thrace*.

¹ Lib. vii. n. 64.

The air was good, the soil fruitful, the situation promising a more constant security in their possessions than any could hope for on the main land, whilst the humour of transigrations reigned: the climate even more temperate (as *Cæsar* found it) than *Gaule* itself; neither too scorching in the heat of summer, nor too pinch in the cold of winter; every thing conspired to favour and egg them on to the undertaking.

Dis, or *Pluto*, had at that time the government of *Gaule*, under his brother *Jupiter*, whose steps he was disposed to follow, and whose designs, for the good of his people and improvement of his territories, he was well qualified to advance. His manner of rule was so beneficial in its effects, and so agreeable to the *Celtæ*, that they loved and revered him as their father; and by adding that title to his name, glorified in being descended from *Dis-pater*, whom (¹ *Cæsar* tells us) they all acknowledged for their great progenitor. Among other instances of his good government, he is particularly celebrated by the ancients for making new plantations, and peopling different parts of the west with colonies of the *Gomerians*. He was very solicitous to have these settlements made in proper places, and his care went so far in this respect, that he frequently went himself in person to conduct those colonies; and was for this reason called, (as the best authors of ² antiquity attest) *Agefander*, and *Agefilaus*, i. e. *the conductor of people*. In this case, it is scarce possible to think that this island should escape his attention: It was not less worthy of his care than many other places, which he chose for settlements: It was not so remote from the center of the territories he had to govern, as *Tartesa* in the extremity of *Spain*; where, in one of his progresses to inspect the state of the country, his curiosity was rewarded with unexpected riches. These reasons and circumstances seem sufficient to authorise our fixing *Jupiter's* reign, for the time when this island was first peopled, and became the residence or seminary of the *Druides*, who derived their descent, if not their institution, from *Pluto*. But as that of his successor was full as favourable for such a plantation, *Mercury* treading in his father's and his uncle's steps, sending out colonies, as they did, encouraging commerce (the never-failing means of making a people rich, and a state powerful) more remarkably, and extending it farther than either of them had done, for which his memory was distinguished all over the world in succeeding ages; it seems impossible to conceive but that *Great Britain*, so nearly adjoining to countries that had been peopled some ages before, must at the latest, be planted in one of these reigns of peace, of industry, of plantations, and of commerce, which took up together the space of a century. It was probably in the former, that the first *Gomerian* or *Celtic* colonies were settled in this island, which must consequently have been planted two thousand years before the *Christianæra*. Ill therefore did the *British* bard consult the glory of his nation; who, enamoured of the beauties of *Virgil's Æneis*, and fond of making his countrymen vye with the old *Romans* in the nobleness of their descent, first devised the story of *Brutus*, and derived their original from the *Trojans*, thus cutting them off at once from nine hundred years of their real antiquity. The *Britons* had no occasion to envy any other nations the honour of their pretended originals, however exalted by fables to what was of old reputed divine; for which *Livy* makes so handsome an apology in behalf of the *Romans*. They had no need of having recourse to the arts of blending falsities with truths, in order to represent their first beginning more noble, majestic, and sacred than it was in reality; since they are in fact descended from the *Gomerians*, from a race of heroes; whose great and beneficent actions caused them to be revered as gods in former ages, and their first

¹ *De Bello Gallic.* l. vi.

² *Æschylus, Callimachus, Athenæus, Hesychius, Lactant. Inst.* l. i. c. 11.

founders were universally acknowledged by the heathens as the greatest of their deities.

Ancient State
of Britain and
Gaule.

V. THE *Gomerians*, being settled here before the use of letters was known in the world, had no means of preserving any account of events, that happened in this island for many ages after their settlement: During which however, they seem to be only taken up in advancing their plantations to the extremity of this, and over the neighbouring isles, without any remarkable revolution; to which, by their situation in so remote a corner divided from the rest of the world, they were but little subject. Their fate in this respect was not much different from that of their brethren the *Celtæ*, whom they had left behind in *Gaule*, and who, troubled with no invasions from abroad, found no inconvenience at home, but what arose from their multiplying too fast; from an excessive number of people, which all the wide extended and fruitful country of *Gaule*, was not sufficient to supply with provisions. To remedy this defect, ¹ *Cæsar* tells us, they sent, from time to time, great numbers of people cross the *Rhine*, to settle in the most fertile provinces of *Germany*: So the *Volcæ Tectosages*, marching from *Languedoc*, fixed their seats in the *Hercynian forest*, about the *Neckar*; the ² *Boii*, quitting the neighbourhood of *Bordeaux*, took possession, first of *Bohemia*, and afterwards of *Bavaria*; as the *Helvetii* did of other provinces. The time of these different expeditions is not so well known, as that of the *Senones* and others, who settled among the *Suevi*, under the conduct of *Sigovesus*, sister's son to ³ *Ambigatus*, prince of the *Bituriges*; which is mentioned by *Livy* as made at the same time, that another of his nephews marched with a very numerous body of forces into *Italy*, and seized on *Gallia Cisalpina*, about 550 years before *Christ*, and in the reign of *Tarquinius Priscus*. Thus were most of the western provinces of *Germany* peopled by the *Celtæ*; till the ⁴ *Cimbri*, or (as the *Greeks*, who gave the name of *Scythæ* to all the northern nations, called them) *Celto-Scythæ*, were forced by an irruption of the *Scythian Nomades*, to quit their settlement on the *Palus Mæotis*: And marching gradually from time to time more westward till they came ⁵ into *Germany*, drove the *Belgæ* out of their territories; and thereby occasioned some alterations in the state both of *Gaule* and *Britain*.

THESE countries had hitherto been unmolested by any invasion; but now, *i. e.* ⁶ about 150 years before *Christ*, the *Belgæ* being forced to seek for new habitations, crossed the *Rhine*, and took possession of the maritime provinces of *Gaule*, lying

¹ *De Bello Gallic.* l. vi.

² *Ib.* l. i.

³ *Lib.* v. c. 34.

⁴ These *Cimbri* were a colony of those wild *Gomerians*, who (as above related) lived like *Nomades*, and quitting *Sogdiana*, marched on the north of the *Caspian*, to the *Palus Mæotis*, on the banks of which they settled about the time of *Inachus*, as *Pezron* thinks.

⁵ See *Plutarch* in *Mario*, from *Posidonius*, and other ancient writers.

⁶ *Cæsar* observes, that there was a time when the *Gauls* surpassed the *Germans* in valour, and made conquests in the country of the latter: The most ancient which he mentions, of these conquests, when the *Volcæ Tectosages* settled in the *Hercynian forest*, seems to have been a good deal later in time, then the settlement of the *Senones*, (from whom the *Suevi* descended) under the conduct of *Sigovesus*, which was made about 550 years before *Christ*. The settlements of the *Boii* were, probably, about the time of *Camillus*, when a body of the same people came also into *Gallia Cisalpina*. Those of the *Helvetii* were still later: And we cannot rea-

sonably suppose, either that this warlike genius of the *Gauls* should abate, till after the expeditions of *Brennus* into *Greece*, which were in the cxxvth olympiad, about 270 years before *Christ*) and the conquest of *Galatia* by colonies of *Gauls*, who over-ran a great part of the lesser *Asia*, and by the terror of their prodigious valour, made all the potentates of that country in a manner their tributaries; or that the *Gauls* should have so furious an inclination to make conquests, even in remote parts of the world, when they were not able to defend their own country from strangers. It was therefore some time after these events, that the *Gauls* began to decline in valour; for changes of that nature are not brought about on a sudden: And *Cæsar* says, it was the effect of a long peace. For these reasons, I cannot think, that the *Belgæ*, who were the first of the *Germans* that entered *Gaule*, could cross the *Rhine*, and make a settlement there, earlier than about 150 years before *Christ*; which is the same time as *Dr. Musgrave* assigns, for their first settling in *Britain*.

between that river and the *Seine*; which the *Celtæ*, softened by a long peace, and divided into too many different states and principalities, to be easily united in any exigence, quitted by degrees to that warlike nation.

VI. THE *Belgæ*, increasing daily in number and power, either too much streightened in their new territories by the multitude of inhabitants, or tempted by ambition and hopes of plunder, to extend their dominions, transported over forces to *Britain*: And finding there much the same state of things, as they had done in *Gaul*, reduced at last all the southern parts of this island, from *Kent* to the *Lands-end*, under their obedience. *Ireland*, likewise, in consequence of this settlement of the *Belgæ* in *Britain*, received a new supply of inhabitants. That island had been originally planted by the *Britains*, as it is reasonable to think, from the great conveniencies peculiar to themselves, which they had, by reason of the nearness of its situation to the coasts of *Wales*, *Cantire*, and *Galloway*, to send over colonies thither; and as is put out of all dispute, by the names of *Brigantes* appropriated to some of those colonies; by the uniformity of customs, and the perfect agreement in language between the oldest inhabitants of both islands. They had hitherto possessed it, unmix'd with any other nation; but the *Belgæ*, being once masters of the counties of *Cornwall*, *Devon*, and *Somerset*, and having a commodious passage from thence to the south east parts of *Munster*, and the maritime provinces of *Leinster*, stocked those parts likewise with a new set of inhabitants, called by the *Irish*, *Fir Bolg* (*viri Belgici*) to express their original descent, and *Fir-Dumnon*, to shew they came immediately from the *Dumnonii* of *Devonshire*, who of course introduced many *Teutonic* words into the *Irish* language. As these *Belgic* colonies were settled in *Ireland* posterior to the establishment of the *Belgæ* in *Britain*, where they ought to be quietly and firmly settled before they took a step of that nature; And as *Flaberty*, and the *Irish* writers in general, agreeable to what they call the tradition of their country, all allow that they came into *Ireland*, long before the *Scots*¹ arrived there from *Spain*; it is very clear, that the colonies of this last nation were not settled in that kingdom till after the time of the *Incar-nation*.

DR. *Musgrave*², who had particular reasons to examine this point, in his discourse upon the *Belgium Britannicum*, fixeth the coming of the *Belgæ* into this island, to about 150 years before the *Christian* æra; but if by this he means their invasion under the command of ³*Divitiacus*, (as he seems to do) it is, at least, fifty years too early. The *Cimbri* had enjoyed their settlements on the *Bosphorus Cimmerius*, in the peninsula by the *Palus Mæotis*, and the countries between the rivers *Tanais* and *Tyras*, very quietly for many ages; 'till about the latter end of the reign of *Numa Pompilius*, the *Scythian Nomades*, being driven out of their old seats by the *Massagetæ*, came to possess themselves of their territories. There was such an infinite number of these invaders, that the ⁴*Cimbri* were divided in their sentiments, whether they had best fight the *Scythians*, or quit their country; and quarrelling among themselves upon that occasion, made the defence of it utterly impracticable. Thus the *Scythians* possessed themselves of it without opposition; and whilst one part of the *Cimbri*, coasting along the *Euxine*, fell into *Cappadocia*, and wasted a great part of the *Lesser Asia*, another body of them retired into the north and western parts of *Europe*, advancing still by degrees their settlements towards those points, till at last they took possession of the countries between the

¹ Mr. *Lloyd* thinks it was many centuries before the *Scots* or *Milesians*. *Irish, English, Dictionary*, v. FERDOL.

² Pag. 94. and Chronolog.

³ This latinised name, is the same as the *British* and *Irish* *Dvotach*, a name very common among the *Cambro-Britains*.

⁴ *Herodot.* l. iv. n. 11.

Baltic and the *Elbe*; extending themselves from thence into the *Mediterranean* provinces of *Germany*. It was on this occasion, that the *Belgæ*, who were in all appearance one of the *Celtic* colonies formerly planted in that country, and seem to have spoken the *Celtic* language, with such a diversity of dialect, as their distance from *Gaule*, and their conversation with other bordering nations, would necessarily introduce, were forced to quit their ancient settlements, and retire with all their families cross the *Rhine* into the northern parts of *Gaule*. They consisted of fifteen nations, distinguished by their proper names; but all included in the common one of *Belgæ*: And, if we may judge of the rest by the power which *Cæsar* ascribes to those he mentions, must have been vastly numerous. There is no account of any battles fought, or cruelties used, when they took possession of the countries lying on the sea-coast between the *Rhine* and the *Seine*: And this seems to have been done with little bloodshed; since there is no manner of appearance of any rancour towards them in the minds of the *Celtæ*; as we may reasonably conclude from several circumstances mentioned by *Cæsar*, from the intermarriages betwixt the two nations, the good neighbourhood and friendly correspondence that subsisted between them, (for the *Belgæ* had no wars but with the *Germans*) and from the *Celtic* form of government being so readily adopted by the *Belgæ*.

It was impossible, when such multitudes of strangers came into a country already populous, but great numbers of the old inhabitants must quit their habitations. The *Celtic Gaule* was too crowded to receive them; being forced from time to time to send out numerous armies, and bodies of adventurers, to fight for settlements in different parts of the world, in order to ease itself of the inconveniences arising from a too great multitude of people. *Britain* lay nearer to them than any other country, and was indeed the only one, where they could take refuge with any convenience. The people of it were originally a colony of their own, still spake the same language, and possibly went by the same name; that of the *Britanni* in *Gaule* not being yet sunk in the general name of *Belgæ*; and there had always been a perpetual intercourse between them: for the merchants on the nearest parts of the continent seem to have carried on the whole trade of this island, at least from the time that the naval power of the *Phœnicians* declined, and the people of *Gades* came to share in the common fate of *Spain*, harassed by the wars of the *Carthaginians* and *Romans*. Hither therefore the old inhabitants of *Belgium* came, when there was no longer room for them on the continent; and in all probability found the *Britains* willing to receive their new guests, and give them vast quantities of waste land, which they did not cultivate. It was natural for them to settle in the southern maritime provinces of this kingdom, which lay nearest to their former home, and with which, whilst they dwelt on the continent, they were used to traffick. The circumstances of those parts were at that time very favourable to such a settlement; such indeed, as would have exposed the *Britains* to a charge of inhumanity, if they had refused them a place of refuge in their distress. *Devonshire* and *Cornwall* were then all in a manner a wild forest, as they continued to be in a great degree, till 150 years after the *Norman* conquest. *Somersetshire* was the same for the most part, at least on the *Mendip* and hilly side; and the lower parts of it were generally moorish and marshy ground, uninhabited and unfrequented, except for the pasture of cattle, in the months of the summer. *Dorsetshire* too was full of the like forests; and it is well known, how widely extended that of *Anderida* was, and what a large tract of country it took up in *Kent* and *Sussex*. These seem accordingly, to have been the parts, where the *Belgic Britanni* first settled, and where they had an ample field for the exercise of their industry.

COMMERCE and husbandry had been their chief employments in *Gaule*; and as the old *Britains* had either no skill, or took no delight in either, they found great advantages in both respects, by being transplanted hither. The ground was now tilled, and first yielded crops of wheat; for which it grew afterwards so famous in the *Roman* times, and proved so useful to their armies in *Germany*; and by its natural fertility, properly improved, afforded sustenance enough for the great numbers of *Belgæ*, who, following the fortune of their countrymen, continually flocked over to partake in their settlements. The native commodities of the island were now sought for with better skill, and more application, than before: and a constant vent provided for them by the establishment of a regular method, (which, *Strabo* tells us, was practised in his time) of conveying them through *Gaule*, either on horse-back, or in boats by the rivers *Seine*, *Saone*, and *Rhone* to *Marseille*: These colonies from *Belgium* had been used to live in society; not dispersed, like the *Brigantes*, in woods, for the sake of hunting, their chief employment as well as diversion; but in houses contiguous to each other, in towns and villages: and their own security rendering the same manner as necessary here, as they had found it agreeable and useful in their late abodes, towns and cities now began to be founded. *Kent*, the part of *Britain* that lay nearest to the country of this *Belgic* people, could not fail of having a greater share of them in proportion, than any other province of the island; and such were the numbers which came over thither, that, instead of mixing with the *Britains*, as the others seem to have done, they formed a distinct people of themselves, known by the name of *Nouantæ* or new *Inhabitants*: or *Nou cantæ*, i. e. *New Kentishmen*, from whom *Ptolemy* calls the foreland of *Kent*, *promontorium Noucantium*. These, in an age when there were no *havens*, but what nature had provided, and when the *Thames* was the only river on that side of this island, on which they could sail for any considerable way within land with safety, extending their settlements along it, laid the foundation of the city of *London*; which being called, *Tri*, or *Tre-Nouant*, i. e. the *Town* of the *Nouantæ*, seems to be the reason for giving the name of *Trinovantes* to this people, who possessed themselves of the neighbouring parts of *Essex*, *Middlesex*, *Surrey* and *Kent*, which lie round that metropolis of this nation.

ALL this, except perhaps in the last instance of the *Nouantæ*, seems to have been done, without giving more umbrage or offence to the old natives, than our

* *Baxter's Gloss. Ant. Brit. v. NOVANTÆ* and *TRINOVANTES*. These came probably, from the nearest part of the opposite continent, whence the old *Britains* themselves first came over to settle in this island; from the bank of the *Canche*, a river, which rising in *Artois* passeth by *Monstreuil*, and falls into the sea at *Estaples*. In the lives of *St. Jossè*, *St. Austrebert*, and others, the Latin name of this river carries with it the same sound, as the modern *French* one does, it being called *Quantia*, *Cantia* or *Kentia*; in *Celtic*, *Cuent*, *Quant*, and *Kent*. There are two towns mentioned in the life of *St. Jossè*, as lying in these parts, and near the mouth of the *Cantia*; the one lying on the left of it, called *Braicq*. (now *Bercq*) the other on the right, called *Brec-sen*, i. e. *Brætorum* seu *Britonum Sabulum*; Names, which as the *Britains* are called *Brits*, *Bracht* and *Brecht* by the *Saxon* writers, serve still to preserve some remains of that people. The life of *St. Boniface* says, there was also on the bank of this river, a town called *Cuenta-wik*, or (as the life of *St. Theodore* spells it) *Kainta-wik*, i. e. *Cantia Sinus* or *Vicus*; which in the middle ages of the empire, was a famous port and the seat of the royal prefects on that coast. In

the division of the kingdoms of *Ludovicus Pius*, and in the capitulars of *Charles the Bald*, this town is called *Quanto-vicus* or *Kento-vicus*: It was seated between the countries of *Ponthieu* and *Boulogne*, where *Estaples* is now; but it hath been since destroyed. It seems to have been a considerable port and ordinary passage to, and from this island; for *Bede* tells us, *H. E. l. iv. c. i.* That when *Theodore* archbishop of *Canterbury* came hither from *France*, *A. D. 668*, he set sail from the port of *Kenta-vic*: And *Willibald* in his life of *St. Boniface* says, that when this last named prelate passed from *England* to *France*, he landed at the mouth of the river *Quent*, and at the town of *Quenta-wik*. See *Bucherii Belgium Romanum*, l. i. c. 5. This is enough to supersede all further enquiries about the name of *Kent*, or of the new comers from *Belgium*, settled either in that country, or in the neighbourhood of it, under the name of the *Noucantæ*, or *Nouantæ*, or *Nouantes*, æ and es, in the termination of words, being used indifferently by the *Romans*, as we see in the latinising of the word *Druids*: *Lucan*, *Strabo*, and others, giving the name of *Druidæ*, to the same persons, whom *Cæsar* and *Tully* call *Druides*.

late settlement in *Georgia* hath done to the *Creek Indians*, there being still woods enough for those, who did not care to fall into the *Belgic* way of living, to gratify their passion for hunting. There is still the less reason to apprehend it should, because these *Belgic Britains* were originally their countrymen, and came of the same stock, from which the natives themselves descended. As for the true ¹ *Belgæ*, they had no manner of taste for trade: their disposition was entirely warlike, and they would allow nothing to enter their territories, that might corrupt or interfere with their military inclination. Their time too was taken up in *Gaule*, either in settling their new acquisitions, or in opposing the *German* nations that attempted to invade them; till after the noble stand they made against the prodigious armies of the *Teutons* and *Cimbri*, who having ravaged most of the other provinces of *Gaule*, and struck terror into *Rome* itself, were at last routed and destroyed by *Caius Marius*. The courage and resolution the *Belgæ* had shewn on that occasion in hindering these Barbarians from crossing the *Rhine* on their borders, and not allowing them on any terms to enter or pass through their territories, raised their reputation to such an height, that they were afterwards much less infested by any incursions of their neighbours. Their apprehensions, which only came from the side of *Germany*, being by this means in a great measure quieted, *Divitiacus* king of the *Suessones*, and of great credit with the whole body of the *Belgæ*, resolved to improve a juncture, favourable to his ambition or avarice, by making an invasion of *Britain*. *Cæsar* mentions both that expedition of the *Cimbri*, who, after wasting *Gaule*, and alarming *Italy* for several years, were routed near *Arles* by *Marius* in his fifth consulship *A. U. C.* 652, and this of *Divitiacus*, and says, that the former happened in our father's memory, the latter in our own. For this reason, as *Cæsar* was not fifty, when in *U. C.* 699, he made his first attempt upon this island; and as *Galba*, the king then ruling at *Soissons*, seems to have been the immediate successor of *Divitiacus*, it seems reasonable to think, that the expedition of this last, being a generation later than the other, was not at most above twenty-five years before *Cæsar's*; and consequently happened within less than a hundred years before the birth of *Christ*. There might possibly have been previous thereto, some depredations at sea, and inconsiderable descents upon the coast for the sake of plunder; but this seems to be the only one, made with a formed design of conquest, and with a force answerable to such an undertaking. It was perhaps made at the instance of the *Belgæ* settled in *Britain*, whose continual increase in numbers and power might give a jealousy to the natives; at least it was made by a prince of the country from whence they derived their origine. This seems to be the reason why ² *Diodorus Siculus*, who being cotemporary with *Julius Cæsar*, and taking infinite pains by travelling over *Asia* and *Europe*, and improving all opportunities to inform himself of all considerable events, could not be ignorant of this expedition, doth yet positively assert, "that *this island was never invaded by any foreigners*, till it was attacked by *Cæsar*."

HOWEVER this was, *Divitiacus* assembling a large body of forces, composed of his own subjects, the *Bibroci* in the *Rbemois*, the *Atrebates*, and other *Belgic* nations, that lay adjoining to his territories, and at the greatest distance from the *Rhine*, passed the sea into *Britain*; and reduced a great part of it into his obedience. The chief scene of his conquests lay in the counties of *Berks* and *Oxford*, where he planted the *Bibroci* and *Atrebates*; and in those, of *Hants*, *Wilts*, and the bordering parts of *Somerset* and *Suffex*, where he settled the other adventurers, who went by the general name of *Belgæ*; expelling the *Regni* and other clans of the old inhabitants from their seats in those countries; a fate that doth not seem to have attended the natives in any other part of the island. It is very probable, that the late colonies from *Belgium* submitted to him upon this occasion, if they did not

¹ *Cæsar de Bell. Gall.* l. ii. initio.

² *Diod.* l. v. p. 300.

assist him in his conquests; and that he subdued a good part of the ^s *Iceni*: though these last afterwards threw off the yoke, recovered their former dominions, and became one of the most powerful nations in *Britain*, before the time of the emperor *Claudius*.

VI. By the form of constitution, which prevailed universally throughout *Gallia* Of the Government of Gaul and Britain. *Belgica*, as well as *Celtica*, the government of each particular people was lodged in a senate or council of the principal nobility; in which presided a chief magistrate, annually chosen, invested with a power of life and death, called among the *Ædui*, the *Vergobret*; and in other states by a like name, importing the supreme authority. For the better maintaining an union among so many different nations, a general council was held regularly every year about *Dreux*, the chief seat of the *Druids*, like that of the *Amphictyones* of *Greece* at *Delphi*; and the deputies of each particular state meeting there together, made regulations for their common safety and advantage; which being religiously observed, they thought the whole world unable to oppose their united power. This was their general stated council; but in particular exigencies they held extraordinary general councils; in which on occasion of an approaching war affecting them all in common, they chose sometimes a general in chief, and sometimes appointed a king: whose power lasted as long as the occasion, and who was either named by the particular state, which had its turn of summoning and presiding in these assemblies, as *Ambigatus* was by the *Bituriges*, or chosen by the suffrages of the general council; in which manner *Vercingetorix* was appointed general. Each particular people likewise in certain exigencies, or out of an high opinion of the bravery, prudence, and other virtues of some eminent persons, chose sometimes two, as *Ambiorix* and *Catavulcus* among the *Eburones*, but generally, one *Reich* or *Rex*, whom the *Romans* looked upon as a *King*: And who was much of the same nature, though not so absolute, as their *Dictator*. But his power always determined with his life, and the title never descended to posterity; so that *Cæsar* speaks of *Casticus*, *Piso*, and others, as private persons, though their fathers had been kings of their respective countries. Such a king was *Divitiacus*; whose authority over the *Belgæ* in general expiring with his life, the government of each particular nation fell of course into the hands of their particular chieftains, or states, (if they had been before united) who afterwards either acted under the direction of their respective senates; or else chose a king to preside in the administration; which last was generally the case of those *Belgic* nations in *Britain*, that lay most exposed to the enemy. For that great prince's ambition had involved them in wars with the natives; in which the *Atrebates* and *Trinobantes*, lying on the borders, suffered most; and the natural strength and power of the *Belgæ* being lessened, as well as divided, by his death, they were not able to maintain his conquests; so that the *Iceni* and *Cattivellauni* found it no difficult matter to recover their liberty, and even to extend their territories.

VII. HAD it not been for that reigning passion in *Divitiacus*, and the injuries Of the Druids. it put him upon doing the old inhabitants of this island, the *Belgæ* might probably have continued much longer in amity with the *Britains*; there being such a conformity between them in their temper, customs, language, and, above all, in their religion. They were equally in this last respect under the direction of the *Druides*; a society of men, who, besides a mighty influence in all civil affairs, had in sacred matters an authority, full as absolute, as ever the *Magi* enjoyed in *Persia*; the *Curetes*

¹ *Baxter's Glossar. Antiq. Brit. v. ICENI, &c.*

in any parts of *Greece*; or the *Chaldæans* in ¹*Affyria*. They agreed so much with the *Curetes* in the rites and ceremonies of their religion; in the methods they used to raise the wonder and engage the veneration of the people; in the nature of their studies, as well as in their manner of life, customs, and institutions; that *Pezron* makes no difficulty in pronouncing the *Druides*, to be the immediate descendants of these *Curetes*, or at least their successors; being admitted into their society, initiated in their mysteries, and charged with the care of religion in the *Gomarian* colonies settled in the western parts of *Europe*. For though both these dignities seem to be hereditary in their families, and the points of knowledge necessary to qualify persons for the due discharge of these offices were regularly transmitted to their posterity; yet we learn from *Cæsar*, that the chief of the nobility of *Gaule* as well as of *Britain*, sent their children to the *Druides*, to be instructed in their mysteries and admitted into their society; and we find among the *Greeks*, that *Empedocles*, *Orpheus*, and others, who appear not to be of the race of the first *Curetes*, were yet initiated into their order.

THEY were alike given to the study of astronomy, and the practice of judicial astrology; to auguries and divinations; as well by the flight of birds, as the entrails of sacrificed animals; to incantations and all the juggling arts and tricks of what then passed by the name of *Magic*; which, according to ²*Pliny*, who considers them as a mere cheat, took in the three fittest things to engage mankind; physic, mathematics, and religion. *Pezron* is willing to excuse the *Gomarrians* from the charge of being the first introducers of these magical arts and curiosities into the world, and ascribes the invention of them to the *Chaldæans*; who being, for their better observation of the stars, settled in the *Gordyæan* mountains on the borders of *Armenia*, when *Acmon* made his irruption into that country, easily infused their own taste into the others, and engaged them in the like practices. But whatever is to be said in respect of astronomy, which might serve for a foundation to the rest, and for which the *Chaldæans* were deservedly famous, being generally reputed the first discoverers of that science, though none of their observations went higher than the time of *Nabonassar*, I see no reason to think but that the *Gomarrians* might have brought with them their skill in incantations and other magical delusions from their own country of *Bactriana*, where they were originally settled; and where such of their clans, as they left behind, are known to have practised them not long after. For ³*Trogus Pompeius*, ⁴*Arnobius*, ⁵*St. Augustine* and ⁶*Orosius* tell us; that *Zoroaster* the king of *Bactriana*, who was routed by *Ninus*, son of *Belus* founder of the *Affyrian* empire, (higher than which the old *Persian* annals, whence we derive almost all our knowledge of the affairs of the east, in those early times, do not extend) was the first remarkable author of magic. ⁷*Dr. Prideaux* indeed, upon the credit of some later oriental writers, maintaineth that there was but one *Zoroaster*, and asserts with ⁸*Agathias* (who founded his opinion on that of the modern *Persians* his contemporaries) that he flourished in the time of *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes*; adding further that the *Bactrian* monarch, who fought with *Ninus*, is called *Oxyartes* by *Ctesias*. But he lays a much greater stress upon this name, than the thing will well bare; nor is all that he says sufficient to overweigh the general tradition of antiquity, ascribing the invention of magic to a prince much more ancient, who bore the name of *Zoroaster*. The later impostor known

¹ It is very probable that these were the same institution, though called by different names in different countries; and all alike set apart for the care of religion and the study of divine subjects; and therefore deemed *necessary men*, for so the word *Din-iw* (whence some derive the name of *Druide*)

signifies among the *Celtæ*, and *Curetes* among the *Greeks*.

² *Plin.* l. xxx. c. 1.

³ *Justin.* l. i.

⁴ *Lib.* i.

⁵ *De Civit. Dei*, l. xxi. c. 14.

⁶ *Lib.* i. c. 4.

⁷ vol. i. 167.

⁸ *Lib.* ii.

by this name, was no king, but born of mean and obscure parents. He might be the broacher of some of the distinguishing doctrines of the *Magi*, and might be a reformer of the sect, but the sect itself had, undoubtedly, subsisted long before his time; had practised all the magical arts, as they were termed, and encouraged the incestuous marriages of sisters, and mothers, and other abominations; which (it is well known) were too much in vogue among the *Persians*, *Chaldeans*, and *Egyptians*, many ages before the time of *Darius Hystaspis*. All agree that *Zoroaster* was the first founder either of the sect, or of the magical arts to which it was addicted; and *Xanthus the Lydian*, who was elder than *Herodotus*; and who is by ¹ *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* celebrated above all other historians for his thorough knowledge of antiquity, places this inventor many hundred of years before the time of the other *Zoroaster* or *Zaradus*, with whom he was at least cotemporary, if not more ancient. *Hermippus of Smyrna*, commended by *Josephus* ² for a most diligent and exact historian, *Hermodorus* cited by *Diogenes Laertius* ³, *Plutarch* ⁴, and *Eudoxus Cnidius*, who was cotemporary with *Ctesias*, and *Plato's* companion in his voyage to *Egypt*, all speak of him as ancients by several ages, than the *Trojan* war. There are instances enough to be given, of the revivers of institutions being confounded with the original founders, and by the figure they made, obscuring the reputation of the others to such a degree, as to render their very existence doubtful.

As to the name of *Oxyartes*, can create no great difficulty in this matter, nothing being more common than for persons of distinction in those days, to be called by two different names, as even the latter impostor himself was: For the *Persian* writers call him *Zerduſht*, and *Agathias* ⁶ gives him the name of *Zaradus*, (which seems indeed to be his true name) as well as that of *Zoroaster*. I have already observed, that in those early ages of the world, proper names were hardly fixed or settled so as to serve for a peculiar distinction of persons; and such as were then made use of by writers, were for the most part designed, not so much to tell us the real denomination of those to whom they were applied, (however they came afterwards to be so taken) as to give us a particular description of them, from some distinguished part or other of their character. Thus the king of the people of *Margiana* (called by *Herodotus*, *Amorgæi*) is by *Ctesias*, called *Amorges*: And this custom continued so low down as the time of *Julius Cæsar*; in the account of whose first expedition into *Britain*, there will soon appear several of the like names or descriptions. Such was the name of ⁷ *Zoroaster* which in the oriental tongues, signifies a *Star-gazer*: Such likewise I conceive that of ⁸ *Oxyartes* to be; the historian, who was probably ignorant of any proper name he had, intending thereby to point out the mighty prince, whom *Ninus*, to compleat the glories of his reign, ventured to attack, and whose territories he proposed to make the last of his conquests; as being lord of the countries watered by the *Oxus* and *Jaxartes*, the ancient names, originally *Celtic*, of the two principal rivers, which ran through *Bactriana*, *Margiana*, *Sogdiana*, the dominions of the first *Zoroaster*. There is the less reason to doubt of this; because when there is occasion again in the *Greek* history to mention a prince of this country, and so low down as *Alexander the*

¹ *Antiq. Roman* l. 1.

² *Contra Appian* l. 1.

³ *De Magis* & in *Titus*.

⁴ *In Iside*.

⁵ *Plin.* l. xxx c. 1.

⁶ l. ii.

⁷ *Bochart*

Phaleg p. 233. says that *Zoroaster* in the oriental tongues signifies ἀστρονομία, *astrorum contemplator*, from אִשְׁרָא *aspicere* or אִשְׁרָא *aspectus*, and *ster* in the *Persian* tongue, *astrum*.

⁸ Mr *Lhuys* in *Baxter's Gloss. Antiq. Brit.* p. 264. observes how often appellatives are taken for proper names, particularly in the very common names of

rivers here, *Ax*, *Ex*, *Ux* and *Ox*; the very name of the *Bactrian* river *Oxus*; and *Jaxartes*, coming from *J* (the) *Ax* (a river) and *Art*, (*noble, strong*) or *Ard* and *Ardh* (*strong, high, deep*), signifies in the *Celtic*, the language of the *Bactrian Gomarians* (the *strong* or *deep* river) a description, or name, which answers to the nature of its stream. See *Lhuys's Archaeology in the Irish Diction.* v. *AN* D, and *ART*.

Great's invasion of *Bactriana*, the prince at that time is, by *Justin*, and others, still called *Oxyartes*.

THERE are so few monuments left of those remote ages of antiquity, that all we know of *Acmon*, before he quitted *Bactriana* at the head of his *Gomarians*, is, that he was the son of *Maneus*; but when he made his conquests of *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Pbrygia*, we find he was accompanied in all these by his brother *Doeas*, the *diviner* (as the name imports) of his family, whom he consulted for his auguries and divinations before he engaged in any enterprise; and that he was, after his death, worshipped by his children¹ with sacrifices and libations; the first honours of that kind which appear (since he was ancients than *Belus*²) to have been paid to any mortal. *Uranus* his son (as *Diodorus Siculus* informs us³) was excessively given to the study of the stars, and was thought to know their rising, setting, and revolutions, with every thing that passed in the ætherial world: And having taken upon him to foretel events, which amazed a people utterly ignorant of the constant order and course of the stars, they readily fancied him partaker of the divine nature, and paid him divine honours after his decease. His daughter *Themis*⁴ was a great mistress of the arts of divination; had the chief hand in settling the rites of divine worship, and making those regulations in matters of religion, which were adopted afterwards by the heathen world; and the predictions which she confidently delivered out to the people, were so generally received, that she was deemed the first inventor of oracles; and *Apollo* himself, when he gave an answer, was said *Θεμισέειναι*, to act the part of *Themis*. In short, all the descendants of *Uranus*, (who had no less than forty five children) fell into the same way of divination and magical arts, as far as we have any accounts of them, till after the time of *Mercury*: But none of the family were more remarkable in this respect than the *Curetes*, descended of the first⁵ *Jupiter*, (brother to *Uranus*) who by his wife *Idæa* had ten sons, and being by his brother made king of *Crete*, settled with them in that island, where they were afterwards entrusted with the education of *Jupiter Olympius*, and employed their time in divinations and enchantments. It was from one of these, the *Cretan Hercules*⁶, that the women of *Greece* borrowed the incantations they used, and the amulets they carried about them, even to the time of *Diodorus Siculus*.

THE *Druides* followed the example of the *Curetes* in their pretences to a familiar intercourse with the gods, in their undertaking to foretel events, in their practice of magical arts and illusions, and their various methods of divination⁷. The *Irish* books are full of their enchantments, as the *British* are of their medicinal secrets; and an infinite number of charms for the cure of distempers, derived originally from them, are still in vogue among the common people in every quarter of these *British* islands. What was calculated to strike an awe and secure an influence at home, carried their reputation into foreign parts: And⁸ *Pliny* tell us, they practised their arts of magic with such astonishing rites and pompous ceremonies, that they might well be thought to have instructed the very *Persians*. *Cicero*⁹ speaks of their skill in augury: And *Justin*¹⁰ gives us a very extraordinary instance of the implicate faith given to their pretences, of understanding the language of birds, or of knowing the will of heaven, by their feeding, settling, flight, motions, actions, and

¹ *Sanboniath. apud Euseb.* ² *Præp. Evang.*

l. i. c. 10. ³ l. 3. ⁴ *Ib.* l. 5. ⁵ *Ib.* l. 1.

⁶ *Ib.* p. 230.

⁷ The ordinary word now for a magician, among the *Saxons* and *Germans*, is *Dry*; and among the *Irish*, *Druidbeact*, or *Druid*; and in their trans-

lation of the Bible, whenever the *Magicians* of *Egypt*, or the *Magi* of the east, come to be mentioned, it is used as the proper term to express their character.

⁸ *Nat. Hist.* l. xxx. c. 1. ⁹ *De divinat.* l. i. c. 41.

¹⁰ *I.* xxiv. c. 4.

¹¹ See *Exod.* vii. 11. *Matth.* xli. 1.

gestures, in his relation of the expedition of a vast army of the *Celtæ*; who, conducted in their march from *Gaule*, by the flight of birds, forced their way through provinces of *Illyricum* into *Pannonia*.

To gain the greater credit to their professions ¹, of being acquainted with the gods, and knowing their pleasure; and to qualify themselves for the better exercise of their arts of divination, their studies were chiefly directed to such ² sciences as were likely to be subservient to these purposes. Astronomy was, on this account, very proper to engage their attention; as accurate observations of the motions and revolutions of the stars, would enable them to foretel the time and measure of eclipses, and other phænomena in the heavens, with an absolute certainty; and so great was their proficiency in this science, that *Pezron* undertook to prove ³ the *Greeks* and *Latins* borrowed from them, what their own astronomers called the *sphere of the Barbarians*. Their skill in physick, and discoveries of the medicinal virtues of herbs and other simples, served as well to cover the ridiculousness of the charms they palmed upon people, as well as to supply their want of efficacy in diseases. The extensive knowledge which they had of nature, and of the secret inconceivable properties of certain things (scarce possible to be found out, but by an infinite number of experiments made in a regular course of enquiry for many ages, by a continual succession of curious and judicious persons communicating their observations to one another) in suspending or over-ruling the most ordinary and constant effects of natural bodies, tho' violent as fire in their operations, put them in a capacity of performing many extraordinary actions, ⁴ which could not fail of astonishing the world, and would easily pass for miracles. The almost incredible things done in ancient times by *Archimedes* and others, some of whose works subsisted to be justly the wonder of succeeding ages, naturally suggest to us, the impressions which the *Druids* might make on a people, unacquainted with the extent and force of mechanical powers, by their skill in mathematics. Of this skill, as applied to mechanism, we have still several stupendous monuments remaining in their temple of *Stone-henge*, and the like prodigious structures in other places of these *British* isles, that however feasible they may now appear in a learned age, and bishop *Wilkins*, in his treatise of *Mathematical magick* hath shewn them so to be, they were generally reputed in former days, the work either of giants or magicians. Their study of ⁵ geography, their great experience and continual opportunities of making reflections on human nature; their knowledge of the situation of countries, and of the tempers, condition, circumstances and interests of particular persons, as well as nations, enabled them likewise to judge, with some assurance, in many cases, of what would, in all probability, be the event; thus helping out, (as *Tully* tells us ⁶) by a rational conjecture, what they knew was deficient in their auguries. These arts of divination, however, were not confined to the men; there were *She-Druids*, that, pretending to the like, delivered their oracles with as much confidence as the *Themis* of the *Gomarians*, and continued for near three hundred years after the ⁷ *Druids* were suppressed all over the *Roman* empire, to be very famous in *Gaule* and *Germany* for their predictions, as we learn from *Lampridius*, *Vepiscus*, and *Aurelius Victor*; and as appears also from the well known story of *Diocletian*.

The art of building was not found out, as *Diodorus* says ⁸, when the *Curetes* first settled in *Crete*, an island full of forests and mountains; so that they naturally took up their residence in the dens of valleys, the hollows of rocks, and the woods

¹ *Lucan.* l. i. Solis nosse deos, &c. *Pompon. Mela*, Druidæ quod dii velint, se scire profitentur.

² *Cæsar de Bell. Gallic.* l. 6. ³ Preface to *Antiquitez des Celtes.* ⁴ *Servius ad Æn.*

l. xi. v. 785.

⁵ *Mela* l. iii. c. 2. ⁶ *De divin.* l. i. c. 41.

⁷ *In Alexandria, in Arch.*

⁸ l. v. p. 232.

of mountains; the only places which at that time afforded any shelter from the cold, or any covering against the weather. They continued this method only till architecture supplied them with better conveniences: But what was at first the result of necessity, became soon, in a great measure, matter of choice, either by force of habit, or because they found the darkness and solemnity of woods very convenient for the practice of their incantations; and accordingly we find them, after houses came into fashion, still inhabiting the groves and hills of *Crete*, and the forests of ¹ *Tartessus*, in the southwest extremity of *Spain*. Pursuant to their example, the *Druids* constantly made their residence ² in groves and forests, in solitary and retired abodes, fit for study and contemplation. In ³ *Gaule*, the seat of the chief *Druid* and his college of assistants, was in the woods near *Dreux*, in the *Pais Chartrain*, where M. Goffelin, a *French* author of the last century, assures us, there were then to be seen considerable ruins of their buildings. In *Britain*, the accounts given us by *Tacitus*, *Dio Cassius*, and others, of *Suetonius Paulinus's* invasion of *Anglesey*, leave us no room to doubt of that island's being a principal residence of the *British Druids*; who, being better versed in the institutions and doctrines of their sect, and greater masters of the points of learning necessary for their profession, than any of those in foreign countries, were resorted to from all parts of *Gaule*, by such as desired to be perfectly instructed in their discipline. It was an island, like *Crete*, where the *Curetes*, and *Samothrace*, where the *Cabiri* and *Corybantes* resided, near enough to the main land of *Britain*, to allow them to pass thither at any time, without trouble or danger; and yet retired enough to secure them against any inconveniences from its tumults; of a good air, and an healthy soil, abounding with springs and rivulets; generally level, yet diversified with an agreeable variety of rising and falling grounds; and full of spacious woods of oak, so necessary for their religious observances; defended, on all sides, from any alarms of invaders by the sea, which at the same time conspired with the land to afford them plenty of all the conveniences of life. Such was the place the *Druids* chose for their habitation, and they seem to have enjoyed it in demesne. They had the like, perhaps greater advantages, in *Lewes* or *Harris*, one of the *Western Isles* or *Hebrides*, which seem, to have been another of their seminaries, as more monuments of their worship and practices are preserved there, than perhaps in all the rest of *Britain*.

THERE are, however, still to be seen in *Anglesey*, a surprizing number of remains of their usages, and monuments of their superstition. The learned Mr. Rowlands, a curious and judicious observer of these things, and a native of that island, after a life spent on the spot, published, just before his death, an exact description of many of these remains; the number of which, in the single parish of *Llanidan*, is very extraordinary. “⁴ There is still plainly visibly, the square ground-plot, and elevated stone foundation of the *Arch-Druid's* mansion-house, surrounded by very deep ditches; the mud of which, near the bottom, seems to be all a mass of rotten oak leaves; the name of the place at this day, is *Tre'r-Drew*, i. e. *The Druid's mansion*. There appears a little way from it, a large cirque or theatre raised up of earth and stones to the height of five yards perpendicular, resembling an horse-shoe, opening directly to the west, on an even fair spot of ground, which seems to have been the place where the chief *Druid* held his confistory to determine causes; and it still goes by the name of *Bryn* or *Brein-Gwyn*, i. e. the *supreme* or *royal tribunal*. About a furlong off, appear the remains of a coronet of very large erected columns or stone-pillars, including an area of twelve or fourteen yards diameter; and between this circle and the cirque, a coped heap

¹ *Jyslin*. l. xliv. c. 4.² *Cæsar*. l. vi.³ *Mona Antiqua*, p. 83, 88.

“ of stones, growing taper towards the top, being one of the *Carnedde*, or places
 “ for offering sacrifices, which are to be seen so frequently in *Wales*, *Ireland*, and
 “ the *Hebrides*. Adjoining, at a little distance, and in a manner surrounding the
 “ head *Druid's* mansion, there seems to have been the dwellings of those separate
 “ conventual societies, which were under his immediate inspection, and used to
 “ attend his orders; the memory whereof is still preserved in the names of *Bod-*
 “ *drudau*, i. e. the *habitation* of the ordinary *Druides*; *Bod-owyr*, i. e. the *abode* of
 “ the *sacrificers*, and the *Trer-Beird*, the *hamlet* of the *Bards*. There are in
 “ the precinct other circumstantial memorials of the more observable parts of
 “ their discipline and worship, in the names of a neighbouring summit of an hill,
 “ called *Caer-Edris*, from *Edris* or *Henoch*, the supposed founder of astronomy;
 “ and of a place just by it called *Cerrig-Brudyn*, i. e. the *Astronomer's stones* or
 “ *circle*, of a small villa named *Myfyrion*, which signifies a *place, dedicated to*
 “ *studies and contemplation*; of *Trev-ir-wydd*, i. e. the *hamlet of young trees*, it
 “ having been the nursery of their sacred oak; of *Myssoglan* so denominated from
 “ the *Viscus*, or *Myssletoe*, which they so highly venerated; and of *Cefn y Verwen*,
 “ i. e. the *Juniper trees billock*, a tree of sacred use in antiquity.” These, and
 other remains too numerous to be mentioned, all crowded together in one parish,
 leave no room to doubt of this place's being the principal residence of the *Druids*
 in the southern parts of *Britain*.

VIII. HAD these *Druids* been less rigid, than in fact they were, in adhering to the first usages and institutions of their order, we should not, in all probability, have wanted any lights to inform us of many particulars, of their customs, doctrine and discipline, as well as of the general history of these islands, which are at present unknown, and likely to remain so for ever. Their Ignorance of Letters.

THE use of letters was not known in the world, till several hundred years after the institution of the *Druids*, as well as of the *Curetes*, who not being able to give their disciples any instructions in religion or learning, or any rules for their conduct, in writing, were forced to put them into verse; the measure whereof was a great assistance to the memory. The Druidical compositions of that kind, which served for a model to *Talieffin*, *Llywarch*, and others of the most ancient and best of the *British* poets, whose works are preserved, and have since served for the foundation of the lent *Prosodia*, which they have in the *Welsh* grammar, and which is perhaps the finest that any language affords, were admirably contrived for this purpose. They were all adapted to musick, every word being harmonious; the strongest and most expressive repeated in a beautiful manner; and all of them ranged in an order established by rules, well known and universally received in such compositions: Each verse so connected with, and depending on those which either preceded or followed it, that if any one line in a stanza be remembered, all the rest must of course be called to mind, and it is almost impracticable to forget or mistake in any. “ The *British* poetry, as well as the language hath a peculiarity, which perhaps
 “ no other language in the world hath; so that the *British* poets in all ages, and
 “ to this day, call their art *‘Cyfrinach y Beirdd*, i. e. the *Secret of the Poets*.
 “ Knowing this art of the poets, it is impossible that any one word of the lan-

¹ These are the words of a very judicious *Welsh* antiquary (Mr. *Lewis Morris*) perfectly well versed in the writings of the old *British* poets; who refers me to Dr. *John David Rhys's* grammar, and Mr. *Prichard's* preface to it, for a description of this *Secret of the Poets*, and adds, that though at first sight it may be naturally thought, their poetry is clogged with so many rules that it is impossible to write a poem of common sense in the language;

yet the vast number of flexions of consonants in it, and the variations in declensions &c. make it almost as copious as four or five languages added together; and consequently a poet in the *Cambrian language*, notwithstanding the strictness of its rules, hath as great a scope and use of words, as in any other tongue whatsoever; as will appear from a perusal of the ancient *British* poets.

“guage, which is to be found in poetry, should be pronounced in any other manner than is there used; so that without a transformation of the whole language, not one word could be altered.”

It was owing to a like ignorance of letters, that the most ancient laws among the *Greeks* were couched in verse; they were called νόμοι, or songs, because the way of publishing them, was by singing them to the people; and the *Lacedæmonians*, being used to this way of preserving their laws by memory, grew so fond of it, that they would never suffer them to be written. The same method was taken with regard to the elogiums of princes and heroes, the actions of great men, and other historical and remarkable events, which it was thought proper to convey down to posterity: And the mode prevailed so generally, that even after the invention of letters, none of the old *Greek* historians wrote in prose, ¹ till the time of *Cadmus Milesius*. The *Carmina Saturnia*, first composed and sung by the *Curetes* in honour of *Saturn*, though the name was afterwards applied to all poems of a like nature in honour of others; and the *Carmina Saliaria*, so called from the ² *Sallii*, a branch of the *Curetes*, who sung them, were in great vogue among the *Romans*, and treated of all sorts of subjects, of laws and religion, as well as of armies and history. Nor had the *Curetes* any scruple about committing to writing, what they thus repeated by heart; for *Orpheus* ³ published his hymns, and *Epimenides*, who, (as *Diogenes Laertius* says in his life) was one of them, wrote, near six hundred years before *Christ*, a poem of five thousand verses to give an account of the generation of their gods, and the origine of the *Curetes*; besides other works both in prose and verse, treating of their sacrifices, mysteries and rites of expiation.

It is not easy to assign a reason, why the *Druids* of *Gaule* and *Britain*, should be more shy in this respect than the *Curetes*; yet ⁴ *Cæsar* tells us, “they did not think it right for their scholars to commit any thing to writing, that regarded their discipline. He endeavours to account for this constitution by conjectures of his own imagination; thinking it was made, either because they would not have their doctrines divulged, or for fear their pupils, by trusting to their books, should neglect their memory; which could not be kept up in all its perfection without a continual exercise.” What may naturally be gathered from this passage is, that the *Druids* put none of their instructions down in writing: But whether that great man’s notion of a particular regulation for this purpose be not founded solely upon that fact, and as merely conjectural as his reasons for it, may well enough be questioned. For my part, I cannot bring myself to think, either that any improvement of the memory is a sufficient equivalent for a twenty years continual application, or that the doctrines of the *Druids* might not be as well communicated to the vulgar world, in virtue of that so much cultivated memory, as they could be, if drawn up by the *Druids* in writing. They were men of a retired life; those at least, who lived in colleges, and were charged with the education of youth; and this was more particularly the case of the *British*, who lived in a country which had no correspondence with any other, except *Gaule*; and that carried on by merchants only, in the maritime provinces of the two nations which lay opposite to each other. This would naturally render them more stiff and uncomplying in respect of the new fashions of the world, and more tenacious of their own customs; and the great resort of scholars to them from *Gaule*, in order to learn their discipline in its greatest purity and perfection, looks as if they were not only more knowing, but likewise more strict in observing it,

¹ *Pliny*, l. v. c. 56. l. vii. c. 55.

² *Dionys. Halicar. Antiq. Rom.* l. ii. n. 71.

³ *Plutarch. in vit. Solon.*

De Bello Gallic. l. vi.

and more closely adhering to their original institution. Reflecting therefore upon these circumstances of their situation, I should, in case there were any such regulation as that above mentioned, be apt to impute it to an excessive fondness (like that of the *Lacedæmonians* abovementioned) for their ancient usages, and an invincible aversion to novelty; or, if there were none, I should think their practice arose from their utter ignorance of letters, which might be owing, either to their want of opportunities of learning them, or to an affected rejecting of such as were offered, in consequence of their inveterate dislike of new fashions.

Whatever may be thought of the *British Druids*, it will probably be scarce allowed me to suppose, that those of *Gaule*, who had the advantage of a *Greek* colony settled at *Marseille*, should want any opportunity of learning the use of letters. But this colony was seated in an extremity of the country; and having, from the first years of their settlement there, been continually engaged in wars with the *Salii*, and other bordering nations, the *Massylians* held little correspondence with other parts of *Gaule*, till after their friends the *Romans* had reduced *Gallia Narbonensis* into the form of a province, and made an alliance with the *Ædui*. This was a favourable event for the *Massylians* to extend their commerce, and to settle a correspondence with the *Belgæ* and other nations in the maritime provinces lying upon the ocean; who, when the *Phœnicians* of *Gades*, distressed by wars at home, laid aside their trading voyages abroad, had engrossed the whole commerce of *Britain*, and by means of the *Seine*, the *Loire*, and the *Rhone*, had great conveniences of sending the commodities of these islands to *Marseille*. But this could not be long before *Cæsar's* time, nor probably till after the expedition and defeat of the *Cimbri*: And the correspondence being purely mercantile, the *Gauls*, who as yet breathed nothing but war, and the *Druids*, who perhaps did not care that their pupils should grow learned in less time, and at an easier rate than themselves, or (as *Cæsar* upon common report supposeth) were not allowed to commit to writing any thing that regarded their discipline or instructions, which took in theology, philosophy, geography, history, mathematicks, and other sciences, might not be very eager to acquire the knowledge of letters, for which they had so little occasion.

It is not unreasonable to think, that such of the *Ædui* as bordered on the *Roman* province, might get a smattering of the *Latin* language, and that some of their chiefs, who had a continual intercourse with the *Romans*, might learn both to speak and write it; and yet we find, that *Divitiacus*, the greatest, the wisest, and the most learned of their princes, who had been sent by the *Ædui* in the character of their ambassador to *Rome*, could do neither. If he, that was at the head of the state, and a principal person in the management of all transactions with the *Romans* (whose province was contiguous to the *Hedui*, and the borders of it above two hundred miles nearer them than *Marseille*) was so utterly ignorant of the *Latin* language, that *Cæsar* could not talk with him, but by the means of an interpreter, there can be very little ground to expect a greater knowledge, even of *Latin*, from others who had not the like particular reasons; much less can it be thought, that they should understand either the *Greek* language or characters. That they did not understand these last, seems very plain from *Cæsar's* writing his epistle to *Q. Cicero* in *Greek* letters, for fear of its being intercepted and the enemy's learning its contents: And though the passage here under consideration, which hath exercised the pens of many learned men, hath been made use of by some to shew that the *Gauls* understood the *Greek* language, and by others, that they knew at least the *Greek* letters; whilst a third sort, not seeing any foundation for either of these suppositions, have boldly adventured to alter rather than

correct

correct the text; I can't persuade myself to think it sufficient to justify either of those opinions.

CÆSAR, speaking of the *Helvetii*, says there was found in their camp an *account* in *Greek* letters of the numbers, as well of the whole body of them that left their country, as of all that were able to bear arms; with a particular account likewise of the numbers of the old men, the boys, and the women respectively. He says also, in this other passage about the *Gallic Druids*, (which is not expressed with his usual clearness) that either they, or the people, made use of *Greek* letters in all their accounts, as well publick as private. For the right understanding of these passages, it must be observed, that before the figures, which are now used to denote numbers, were invented, the *Greeks* made use of the ² letters of their alphabet, and of the initial letters of such words in their language, as, (like the *French livre, sol, and denier*, which we follow in our *pounds, shillings and pence*) expressed the nominal sums of money by which they computed, in all their accounts, where either sums or numbers were to be mentioned; and that the *Romans*, though they observed the same method in a great measure, yet deviated from it in some particulars. Hence I take *Cæsar's* meaning in one of these passages to be, that the *Helvetii*, in computing the different orders or degrees of persons, that had a share in their expedition, followed the method of the *Greeks*, making use of their letters, not the *Roman*, or any other figures, to express their several numbers: And in the other, that the *Gauls* used the same *Greek* letters in all their *accounts* of money, either contributed or laid out for the public service of the state, or else passing in private transactions between merchants and other particular persons.

It was an easy thing for the *Massylians*, who were a *Greek* colony, when, by the protection of the *Romans*, they had extended their trade to the *Helvetii*, and even to the furthest parts of *Gaule* lying on the ocean, to teach their correspondents this way of accounting; and as easy for these last, when they had once found the convenience of the method, to introduce it in a very short time among their countrymen, so as to make it of general use, in a matter of so general concern as accounts of money, wherein almost every man in a nation, is in some degree or other necessarily interested. But all this might be done without their understanding the least of the *Greek* language, or knowing any other use of the letters than as they stood for *Figures*; so that when they came to be combined into words, they would appear to the *Gauls* full as unintelligible as the most mysterious cypher, that the wit of man can invent. In a word, we meet with no other passages in ancient authors, which give us any reason to imagine, that either the *Gallic* or the *British Druids* ³ had any knowledge of the use of letters, before the *Romans* came amongst them: We hear of no books on any subject, that they wrote, nor writings of any kind, that they had, or left behind them, mentioned by any historian; we see no inscriptions of theirs on any pillars of their temples, or on any altars of their gods, or on any monuments of their princes and heroes, in whose honour the *Druids*, who had the sole care of religion, and the chief sway in the ordering of public affairs, may be naturally supposed as zealous to distinguish themselves, as the Heathens were, in all countries where they had the use of letters: There is still an infinite number of the remains of such monuments, altars and temples erected by the *Druids* in these islands; and some there are of their times on the neighbouring continent, but without the least mark to shew there ever was a *British* or *Celtic* inscription on any of them: And as characters engraven in marble are not apt to disappear as if wrote in water, a vast number of *Roman* ones from the reign of *Claudius* are preserved to this very day, it may be

¹ Lib. i.

² See the learned Dr. *Taylor's* excellent commentary on the *Marmor Sandvicense*.

³ *Tacitus* says expressly the *Germans* had not.

reasonable on the whole to pronounce, that the *British Druids* had no knowledge of the use of letters.

THIS was a point of knowledge, which our *British* ancestors derived from the *Romans*, whose character they adopted and made use of in all their inscriptions and writings, as Mr. *Baxter* hath observed, in his letter prefixed to the *Archæologia Britannica*. The author of which elaborate and learned work hath shewn, “ that the “ *British*, or (as they are usually called) the *Saxon* and *Irish* characters, are really Ro- “ *man*, with such very small deviations, as must unavoidably be introduced by “ time, and the arbitrary use of writing; and that the same characters are still “ extant on the tombstone of *Kadvan* king of *Guynedh*, in the church of *Lhan* “ *Cadwaladar* in the isle of *Anglesey*, who was one of the *British* princes in that “ famous battle fought against the *Saxons*, who had massacred the monks of “ *Bangor*.” They have in *North-wales* several other ancient inscriptions, all in the same character, though none of them more remarkable than that on the grave- stone of *Pabo*, who lived at the time of the *Saxons* coming into this island, and distinguished himself so much by his valour against the *Picts* and *Scots*, that he was surnamed, *Post Prydain*, i. e. the pillar of Britain. He was great ‘nephew to *Helena*, mother to *Constantine* the great, and must consequently be cotemporary with *St. Patrick*, who first taught the *Irish* their alphabet, and the *Roman* or *British* character.

As for those, who, judging of the *Bards* in ancient times, not as they were under the direction of the *Druids*, but as they appeared to be in after ages, when the latter were extirpated, have, in order to find some imaginary materials for the injudicious compilers of certain historical works, whereon to ground their fabulous relations, ventured to suggest, that though the *Druids* and their pupils were restrained from committing any thing to writing, yet the *Bards* might take a greater liberty; it is enough to say, that both were subject to the same discipline: And if the *Druids* were not allowed to write any thing, the *Bards* undoubtedly lay under the same restriction; if the *Druids* did not know the use of letters, the *Bards* certainly were full as ignorant.

THIS ignorance, in which those of *Spaine*, *Gaule*, and *Germany*, seem to be equally involved, was a natural effect of the military genius of our ancestors, the contemplative life of their *Druids*, and the happy situation of these islands: Happy in being divided from the rest of world, and free from the calamities of war, and the inundations of barbarous nations, which from time to time ravaged most parts of the continent; but the more unknown by being seated in the remotest quarter of the globe towards the west and north, beyond the bounds of what was for some ages reputed habitable by the ancients. The east, from whence light breaks upon the earth to enliven nature, first gave birth to letters; which seems to have been invented about the time of *Moses*, whose account of the origin of the world, and history of the *Israelites* from the call of *Abraham* to their settlement in the land of *Canaan*, is the most ancient work that is known, and the first that was ever written. The neighbouring nations soon profited of the discovery, and *Cadmus* brought letters from *Phœnicia* into *Greece*; where they found a reception answerable to their utility; laying the foundation of that learning, which hath distinguished the *Greeks* above all other nations, and contributing to form those great men among the ancients, whose works are still read with pleasure and admiration. The *Phœnicians* might have done us the same service; for in a few ages after their settlements at *Carthage* and *Gades*, they began to trade to these parts, though they never planted any colony in *Britain*.

It is only by such fixed establishments, with which the natives of a country have a continual intercourse, that a foreign language can be communicated; and strange customs, difficult to acquire, and promising no immediate advantage, can be introduced. The *Phœnicians* were occasional visitants, sailors, and merchants, whose sole view was gain; this they found in the isles of *Scilly*, famous among the ancients under the name of *Cassiterides*, on account of the vast quantities of tin, which they supplied for the convenience of other nations, and of which those merchants made so extraordinary a profit, that they took all imaginable¹ pains, not even boggling at the extremest dangers, and all the horrors of shipwreck, to conceal from the world the course of the navigation thither. With these sentiments, it cannot be thought, that they should take any more care to instruct and improve the *Britains* in knowledge, than we have done in the case, either of the inhabitants we trade with on the coasts of *Africa*, or of the *Indians* that live on the back of our plantations in *America*. It was inconsistent with the tenour of their received politics, and contrary to their interest, the all-powerful and domineering passion of that kind of men, to furnish the natives with any means of knowledge or helps to a correspondence with other countries; which must in time have diminished the exorbitant profits, that the *Phœnicians* made of the others ignorance and simplicity.

The *Massylians*, tempted by the like hopes of gain, and in order to share with the *Phœnicians* in the advantages of a commerce with these parts of the world, sent, about two hundred and fifty years before *Christ*, *Pytheas* one of their citizens to make a discovery of all the coasts of the ocean towards the north, beyond the straits of *Gibraltar*. This ancient geographer having coasted along *Spain*, *Gaul*, and *Britain*, examining the situation and condition of the ports in his way, proceeded at last as far north as *Iceland*; and on his return published an history of this last island under the name of *Thulé*; with an account of the countries he had visited, and the observations he had made in his voyage. This work is now unhappily lost, except some few passages of it, quoted by *Polybius* and others; which only serve to raise our curiosity for the rest, and to heighten our regret for its having undergone a fate, common to it with the writings of other *Greeks*, who seem to have known more of these islands in and before the age of this *Pytheas*, than either they or the *Romans* did afterwards, upon the discontinuance of the *Phœnician* trade, till the time of *Cæsar's* expedition. The discovery then made of them by that founder of the *Roman* empire, and the easy communication with them, which he had opened by the conquest of *Gaul*, made them in a little time generally known to the world; and it is from his *Memoires*, the first and most authentic of any, and from the later writings of other *Roman* authors, compared with the monuments still remaining of the superstition of those ancient times, that we derive all the knowledge we have of the institutions of the *Druids*, and of the religion, customs, and manners of the old *Britains*.

Their Religion.

IX. In point of religion, they were distinguished above all other nations, by their firm belief of that fundamental principle of it, the immortality² of the soul; of which *Lucan* represents them as the first authors; and to which the *Romans* generally ascribed that uncommon bravery, intrepidity, and utter contempt of life, which they shewed upon all occasions. But they grafted on this foundation two other notions, depending on one another, *viz.* the pre-existence of souls, and their successive transmigration from one human body to another, in which they lived

¹ *Strabo*, l. iii. *Mela*, l. iii. c. 2.

² *Cæsar de Bello Gal.* l. vi. *Lucan.* l. i. *Strabo*, l. iv. *Amm. Marcellin.* l. xv.

again after a certain time of expiation. Thus is it *Diodorus* ¹ explains this doctrine which the *Druides* held in common with the *Pythagoreans*: but the time of its being received among them hath hitherto been thought so uncertain, as to render it difficult to determine, whether they were the first authors of it, and communicated it (as *Clemens Alexandrinus* asserts ²) to *Pythagoras*, or else derived it from this philosopher. They believed one supreme God, immense and infinite, and would not worship him in a temple; the confining him to a place, being thought inconsistent with those attributes: But this doctrine too was corrupted by their admitting an inferior kind of deities, and paying divine honours to ³ *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Apollo* and *Mercury* under the names of *Taranus*, *Hesus*, *Belenus*, or the *Sun*, and *Teutates*. They had the same opinion of these as other nations had, and assigned to each a distinct province, wherein he particularly exercised his protection; *Jupiter* having a sovereign power over heavenly bodies; *Mars* in events of war; And *Apollo* in diseases; whilst *Mercury* the founder of arts and commerce, presided over merchandize and was the guide of travellers, the name *Teutates*, being by some derived from the *Celtic* words, *Diw Taith*, i. e. *Deus itineris*. To these, *Cæsar* adds *Minerva*, the goddess of artificial works; as ⁴ *Plutarch* does, *Diana*; and *Lucian*, ⁵ *Hercules*, who was worshipped by the name of *Ogmios*, and as the god of eloquence. But before the times of the *Romans*, there are no traces of any worship paid to *Minerva*, either by the *Gauls* or *Britains*, unless she be the same with *Andraсте* or *Dea mater*, that infernal fury to whom *Bunduica* impiously offered human sacrifices (as Mr. *Baxter* ⁶ thinks) or be confounded (as was very frequently the case) with the *Phrygian Artemis*, or *Diana*, whom *Plutarch* says, the *Gauls* worshipped exceedingly; or the *Moon*, which, in consequence of the *Druids* astronomical studies, was adored in a particular manner by the *Britains*.

THE exterior acts and rites, by which the *Druids* expressed their inward sense of religion in the adoration of their deities, were prayers, thanksgivings, oblations, and sacrifices; acts warranted by the example of the ante-diluvian patriarchs, and which being some of them suggested by the light of reason, and all conveyed by a general tradition to all nations upon earth, were accordingly adopted by them in their practice. They composed ⁷ songs and hymns in praise of their deities, which were sung in concert, accompanied with the music of their harps, in the solemn and regularly-returning festivals instituted and celebrated in their honour, with choirs of dancers, rejoicings, feasts, games and plays, much after the same manner, as was used by the *Greeks* at their olympic games dedicated to *Jupiter*, and in their *Delian* festivals, consecrated to the honour of *Apollo* and *Diana*. Their offerings, agreeable to the frugality and simplicity of a people living upon milk, acorns, the fruits of the trees, and produce of the ground, were at first fine ⁸ meal or flower sprinkled with salt, or a baked cake seasoned in the like manner; which was originally the ⁹ general practice of the Heathen world, and never entirely laid aside, even after animals came to be used as victims; these simple oblations being still kept up as necessary concomitants and proper preludes of their more costly sacrifices. The *Britains* seem to have been, later than other nations, infected with this affectation of pomp and expence in acts of religion; for we see by the offerings which they sent from time to time, either by sacred ambassadors, solemnly deputed to carry them, or by other methods of conveyance, to the temples of *Apollo* and

¹ *Diod. Sic.* l. v. ² *Strom.* i. ³ *Cæsar.* l. vi. *Laert.* l. vi. c. 21. *Lucan.* l. i. *Greg. Turon.* de gloria mart. c. 5. *A. Gell.* l. vi c. 6. *Auson.* de Prof. Burdeg. Carm. iv. ⁴ *De virtut.* *Mulier.* & in *Amatorio* ⁵ *In Dial.* *περὶ σαλῆς.* ⁶ *Gloss. Antiq. Brit.* v. *ANDRASA*, *JUPAPANIA*, *MINERVA*. ⁷ *Diodor. Sic.* l. ii. p. 38. *Herodot.* l. iv. n. 33. *Ovid. Fast.* i. 335. *Plin.* l. xxxi. c. 41. ⁸ *Ib.*

Diana at *Delos*, that they preserved the primitive simplicity in this respect, to at least the time of *Hecataeus*.

¹ CÆSAR speaks of it as a common practice among the *Gauls*, when they were going to battle, to devote all the spoils of the enemy to the gods; and that when the action was over, they sacrificed all the animals they had taken, and laid up the rest of the spoil on heaps in consecrated places; where abundance of those heaps were in his time to be seen, and remained untouched in great security. None durst steal or take away any thing thus reposed, either for fear of the capital punishment and tortures inflicted on such as were detected of so heinous an impiety, or out of respect to a principle of their religion, which forbade them, as well to conceal any part of the booty they had taken, or to violate the appropriation of it afterwards. Hence were there to be seen in all parts of the country, great quantities of gold and silver lying in their consecrated groves and open temples, unguarded, and yet untouched by any of the inhabitants; which *Diodorus* thought very wonderful in a people so excessively greedy of money, as the *Celtæ* shewed themselves to be on other occasions. The *Romans* indeed were less scrupulous: And ² *Q. Servilius Cæpio*, when he was consul, plundered the temple of *Tboloufè* of an hundred thousand pound weight of gold, and five millions of silver, which were there consecrated. But the terrible calamities which, immediately after this sacrilege, attended him and his family (he being routed in the same year by the *Cimbri*, dying in exile, and the only heirs he left, his daughters prostituted) served to confirm the *Gauls* in their abhorrence of all such sacrilegious practices, and gave rise to the common proverb, of *Aurum Tolosanum*, used so frequently among the *Romans*, observing how seldom ill got riches prospered. There are no vestiges of the like custom among the *Britains*; but this may be owing to their not being infested with foreign wars, and as they agreed with the *Gauls* in religion as well as manners, and were as much addicted to their own religious observances, at the same time that they despised those of all other nations, we may reasonably presume, that on the like occasions (if any ever offered) they made the like offerings and dedications of their acquisitions.

THE same vanity, which gives people an excessive fondness for their own superstitions, makes them likewise apt to vye with others in every thing that hath the air of a superior merit, that may render them more acceptable to the deity, and distinguish their zeal for his worship. Thus the *Gauls* and *Britains*, giving in to the general notion of the Heathens, that the more valuable the life, the more acceptable was the offering of it to their gods, adopted the barbarous practice of human sacrifices. They had too many examples for it in other nations; in the *Spaniards*³, the *Carthaginians*, the *Cretans*, the *Lacedæmonians*, the *Thracians* and *Scythians*, the *Persians*, the *Phœnicians* who traded to *Britain*, and seem to have introduced it there⁴, the *Massylians* seated on the coast of *Gaule*, and abundance of other nations, not excepting even the *Athenians* and *Romans*. The *Egyptians* carried it to such a monstrous excess, that at *Heliopolis* they offered every day three men to *Juno*, till *Amosis* abolished the custom, substituting images of wax,

¹ Lib. vi.

² *Strabo*, l. iv. *Sallust.* in *Jugurth.* *Plutarch.* in *Mario.* *Eutrop.* l. v.

³ *Cicero de Nat. Deor.* l. iii. *Aul. Gell.* l. iii. c. 9. *Justin.* l. xxxii. *Cicero de Nat. Deor.* l. ii. *Aul. Gall.* l. iv. c. 9. *Diod.* l. v.

⁴ *Euseb. Orat. de laud. Constantini.* *Porphy.* de illicit. animalium usu. *Clem. Alexand. Protreptic.* *Just.* l. xviii. *Euseb. ib.* *Lactant.* c. 21. l. i. *Lucan.* l. x. *Prudent. Epig.* xvi. *Tert. Apol.* c. 9. *Minut. Felix* in *Octavio.*

⁵ The *Phœnicians* sacrificed their only children to *Saturn*, and were so furious above others in offering human sacrifices, that in *Libya* they made public sacrifices of two hundred of the sons of their principal nobility, the inferior people at the same time offering as many of theirs; and this custom continued in the country about *Carthage* till the reign of the emperor *Adrian*, when *Tiberius* proconsul of *Africa* abolished that impious practice. *Euseb. de Laud. Constantini*, l. i. 7.

instead of men ; as the *Laodiceans* of *Syria* did an hind in lieu of the virgin they yearly offered to *Minerva*. The *Aborigines* of *Italy* offered their victims to *Jove* and *Apollo* ; the *Romans* theirs to *Jupiter Latiaris* and to the *Dii manes*, on occasion of any public danger or calamity of war ; nor were these entirely laid aside, (at least as to criminals and gladiators) till the time of the emperor *Honorius*. It was in such cases of publick danger, in the rage of a pestilence and before a battle, that the *Gauls* chiefly had recourse to them : But they often did the same in private cases, in the distempers of particular persons, that appeared more than ordinary dangerous. They generally indeed sacrificed only robbers and other criminals ; but, if they had none of these in prison ready for the purpose, they made no scruple, in cases of imminent danger, to offer innocent persons, to *Taranis*, *Hesus* and *Teutates* ; in which they were followed by the *Britains* : Who going beyond them in this point, made the same sacrifices to *Belin*, *Andraсте*, or *Luna* ; probably drawn into this unusual difference from the others by the *Phœnicians*.

It was about four hundred and fifty years before CHRIST, that these people first discovered the *British* isles, making the largest of them known to the eastern world by the name of *Britain* ; and a trade to these parts was opened by the *Carthaginians* : Who about the year of *Rome* 307, sent *Hanno* and *Hamilcar* with each a fleet to sail, the one south, the other northward, from the streight of *Gibraltar*, to discover the western coasts of the continent of *Africa* and *Europe*, and the islands that lay in the *Atlantick* ² ocean. The latter of these was charged with the northern navigation: And having coasted along *Spaine* and *Gaule*, discovered this island, passed along the *British* channel into the *German ocean*, as far as the *Baltick*, and returned, after spending two years in the expedition. It was probably at this time, that the *Carthaginians*, having passed along *Britain* to the extremity of *Scotland*, erected, in the most northern point of that country, the votive altar and inscription, in honour of *Ulysses*, the hero of voyages, mentioned by *Solinus*. From this time the *Phœnicians* began to trade with the *British* isles: And being themselves furiously prepossessed in favour of human sacrifices, seem to have recommended them to a people extremely devoted to religion, and disposed to receive any rites, that might express an higher veneration of their deities. The *Druids* too, might the easier adopt them, as finding them serviceable to their pretensions of knowing or discovering the will of heaven ; for what seems to have distinguished the *Britains* most from other nations in these sacrifices, was their using them for divination ; it being usual with the *Druids* (as ³ *Diodorus* says) in consulting of matters of great moment, to sacrifice a man, and running him through with a sword above the breast, to divine of futurity by the flow of blood from the wound, and by the fall and convulsion of the members. It was these sacrifices, attended with several shocking circumstances in the auguries taken from the entrails of the unhappy victims, which gave the *Romans* such an aversion to the *Druids*, that contrary to the ordinary policy, observed by them in their conquests, of encouraging, or at least tolerating, the religion of the country, they resolved upon an utter extirpation of them and their superstition. Those sacrifices had been forbidden at ⁴ *Rome*, *A. U. C.* 657. by a decree of the senate : But some people continuing them in private, the emperor

¹ *Cæsar*, l. vi. *Justin*, l. xxvi. *Cicero* *orat. pro Fonteio*, *Strabo*, l. iv. *Laëtant*. l. i. c. 21. *Lucan*, l. x.

² This is the opinion of *Mariana*, and other learned men ; but there are others, who, building upon *Pliny's* assertion, that these voyages were undertaken in the most flourishing state of the *Carthaginian* affairs, and judging this to be in the time of *Agathocles*, suppose them to be still later. This indeed may be reasonably inferred from what *Poly-*

bins (who died about 125 years before CHRIST)

³ says, that the eastern parts of *Spain*, near the *Mediterranean*, from the *Pyrenees* to the pillars of *Hercules*, was called *Iberia* ; but that part, which lay on the *Atlantick* ocean, had in his time no name nor common appellation, because it had not been long discovered ; and yet it was discovered by *Hanno* and *Hamilcar*, the very persons here mentioned.

⁴ *Diod. Sic.* l. v.

⁵ *Plin.* l. xxx. c. 1.

Augustus had renewed the prohibition. *Tiberius* had suppressed them in *Gaul*; and ¹ *Claudius* extirpated the *Druids* in that country. In ² *Britain* they subsisted till *Nero's* time, when *Paulinus Suetonius* having reduced *Anglesey*, destruction fell so suddenly upon the *Druids*, that all their knowledge of various kinds, and all the historical memorials of former ages, conveyed down to them by their predecessors, either in the songs of the *Bards*, or in any other methodical manner, being preserved only in their memories, perished with them at once, without any learned or inquisitive *Roman's* having an opportunity to gratify his own curiosity, or commit any remains thereof to writing, for the benefit and entertainment of posterity.

THE places set apart for these sacrifices, and for other acts of public worship, were ³ consecrated groves of oak; which ⁴ *Pliny* says, were the most ancient temples of the deities. The silence and solemnity which reigned there, naturally recommended them as proper places for religious worship; nor could mankind well think of any other, in the first ages of the world, when they had no houses for their own habitation. A practise ancienter than the flood in its original, could not fail of being adopted afterwards by all nations; among whom *Sacra Jovi quercus*, was a common maxim, and oaks were held in particular veneration ⁵. It prevailed so generally among the oriental nations, that whenever any of the *Israelites* were perverted to the idolatry of the Heathens in their neighbourhood, it was still under the green well-spread ⁶ oaks, and on the tops of mountains, that they built altars and offered sacrifices to their idols. The *Persians* (⁷ *Herodotus* tells us) had neither temples nor statues; but sacrificed to the sun and moon, and the whole expanse of heaven, on the most elevated parts of mountains; so that woods served them for temples, and the tops of hills for altars ⁸.

It was not uncommon to erect pillars in these groves thus dedicated to religious performances: And accordingly we find the men of *Shechem* proclaiming *Abimelech* ⁹ king by the oak of the pillar in *Sichem*, the place where *Abraham* had formerly worshipped, and where *Joshua* had set up a great stone or pillar in the sanctuary of the Lord. It was usual to anoint and consecrate such pillars: So *Abraham* ¹⁰ did at *Bethel*: So *Jacob* in mount *Gilead*; where directing his brethren to gather stones, he erected an heap of them to serve not only for a testimony and memorial, but for all the rites of a sacrificial action, which were observed in making the covenant between him and *Laban*. These usages, part of the patriarchal manner of religious worship, were all adopted by the old *Britains* ¹¹: And the names by which they are known in *Wales* and *Ireland* this very day, being evidently derived from the *Hebrew*, the original language of mankind; (though the customs themselves cannot possibly be supposed to be copied from the *Jews*) are a plain indication, that they flow from an higher source, and have been continued by means of a constant, regular, uninterrupted exercise of the religion, whereof they were a branch, from before the confusion of *Babel*, and the dispersion of nations; and are, consequently, so many evidences of the great antiquity of the *Druidical* institution.

¹ *Sueton. in Claud. c. 25.*

² *Mela, l. iii. c. 2.*

³ *Lucan, l. iii. Pliny, l. xii. c. 1.*

⁴ *Ib.*

⁵ It was in the oak-grove (for so the word *Allon* should be rendered) of *Morab* in *Sichem*, that *Abraham* was paying his devotions to the Almighty, when he was honoured with the divine presence, and received the promise of the land of *Canaan* for his posterity. There also he erected an altar to the Lord; as he did likewise on the mountain (in those early days all covered with woods) that lay on the

east of *Beth-el*, when he removed thither.

⁶ *Ezek. vi. 13. Hosea iv. 13.*

⁷ *Herodot. l. i. n. 131.*

⁸ From the *Hebrew* word *במות* signifying high places, the *Greek* word *βωμοί*, altars, is commonly derived; as the *Welsh* *Llyn* a grove, is from *Allon*, which hath the like import in the *Hebrew* language.

⁹ *Judges, xi. 6.* ¹⁰ *Gen. xxxi. 13, 45, 46, 52, 54.*

¹¹ See *Mona Antiqua*, p. 56.

¹² *Gen. xli. 6, 7.*

THAT the *Britains* performed all the parts of their divine worship in groves; is a fact undeniably proved by the concurrent testimony of all antiquity: And it is generally supposed that the *Druides* derived their name from *Deru*, the *British* word for *Oak*; the tree for which they had so singular a veneration. They never exercised any part of their sacred functions without it: The fences, that enclosed the places of their religious worship, were all made of oak; the altars, on which they offered sacrifices, were strewed with its leaves, and encircled with its branches: it served for wreaths to crown the brows of the victims, and for garlands to deck the heads of the musicians, singers, dancers, and other votaries, that bore a part in their sacred festivals and solemnities. They placed a very high mystery in the *Mistletoe* of that tree, looking upon it as the choicest gift of heaven, as an assurance of further blessings, as a mark of divine election, in favour of the particular tree whereon it was found; which for that reason was ever afterwards treated with a more than ordinary veneration. It was sought for in all parts at the beginning of the year (which they began on the first day of the moon, when it appears visible) with a wonderful eagerness, found with transport, and gathered with the greatest solemnity, in the midst of an infinite concourse of people, flocking from all quarters to behold the welcome earnest of their future felicity, and to celebrate the festival observed and the sacrifices offered on that occasion; the *Druid*, clad in a white vesture, climbing up the tree, cropping the *Mistletoe* with a consecrated golden pruning knife, and receiving on his *Sagum* or *white garment*, this annual present of the Gods, and sure remedy (such they thought it) against all diseases.

It was a received principle in the religion of all countries, where *Druidism* prevailed, as in *Gaule*, *Germany*, and *Britain*, that to confine the deity within walls, or to represent him in any human figure², were things unworthy of his majesty, and unsuitable to his immensity: And they remained accordingly for many ages without either temples or statues, till the influence of the example set them by all their neighbours, particularly by the *Romans*³, prevailed with them to deviate in some degree from their ancient usage. Those of *Gaule* seem to have been first infected with the itch of novelty, and, at the time of the irruption of the *Cimbri*, had a famous temple at *Tbolouse*; tho' to reconcile their new practise in some measure with their old principle, it was open at the top; whereas the *British* structures, called and used as temples, were open on all sides, being only circles of stones at a distance from each other. The *Gauls* however had very few of that new kind, till the *Romans* had subdued their country; and then they had temples covered with roofs, as in other places. *Cæsar* speaks of several images of *Mercury*: *Pliny*⁴ mentions a vast colossus erected to his honour, and ⁵ *Lucian* gives us an account of a statue in his time of *Hercules* (*Ogmios*) emblematically designed to express the force of eloquence. But this last seems only an hieroglyphic: And the first were probably large pillars of stone or marble erected in the interfections of roads, or in woods, where the people were used to worship that chief of their deities; and were not properly statues, any more than the lofty oak, which *Maximus Tyrius*⁶ fancied, they worshipped as the image of *Jupiter*. Whatever kind of respect was originally intended to be paid to that tree, it is not unlikely, but it might in time, at least among the commonalty, degenerate at least into a religious adoration: And we see accordingly *Gregory* the great, in one of his epistles to queen *Brunebaut*, recommends to her, not to suffer the worshippers of trees any longer in those parts of *Gaule*, that were under her government. ⁷ *Gildas* informs us likewise, that the

¹ *Pliny* l. xvi. c. 44.² *Tacit. de mor. Germ.*³ Who always had temples, and though *Numa* had enjoined them to make no representation, whether carved or painted, of the deity; yet

within 160 afterwards they introduced statues into their religion.

⁴ l. xxxiv. c. 7.⁶ *Differt.* xxxviii.⁵ *Dial. περὶ ὁμιλίας.*⁷ *Epist. initio.*

Britains in his time had very ill favoured statues, and paid divine honours to mountains, hills, and rivers.

It is difficult to fix the exact time, when these novelties were first introduced into *Gaule*: But it was certainly after the expedition of *Sigovefus*, when the *Senones* mixed with the *Suevi*; and after every one of those later settlements made in *Germany*, at considerable distances of time from one another, by the *Boii*, *Helvetii*, and *Volcæ Teutofages*; because in *Tacitus's* time, none of these *Celtic* transplanted colonies had either temples or statues. We read of no statues among the *Britains* at that time, unless a rough unshapen stone, of an enormous size, set up erect, may be so called, and fancied to represent the stability of the deity: And their temples were no more than a number of such large unwrought pillars, (every two of which, in some of them, support an huge flat stone, raised up and laid on their top) a certain distance being observed between each, and (except such as were dedicated to the worship of the moon, which appear to be semicircular) all disposed in the form of a circle, and surrounded by a trench on the outside. Such is the temple we see at *Stonehenge* near *Ambresbury* in *Wiltshire*; and such were those of *Rollricht* and *Aubury*, and others; the remains whereof are still visible in the *Western* and *Orkney* isles, and in other parts of *Britain* and *Ireland*.

THEIR¹ altars were huge, broad, flattish stones, mounted up and laid flat upon other erect ones, and leaning with a little declivity in some places, on those supporters. This bending posture they seem to have affected, though it be not found in all of these monuments, which are called *Crom-lech*². These generally stood in the midst of the *Area* of the temple, near which was erected a great unshapen, uneffigiated pillar or obelisk, agreeable perhaps in form to those of the patriarchal ages, but much abused in the application, there being holes bored through some of them, still to be seen, which perhaps served either for tying the victim, or for fixing and supporting those twiggen machines that *Cæsar* mentions, as formed into monstrous figures, and filled in every part or member with the miserable wretches destined to be burnt by way of sacrifice. Besides these pillars the *Britains* had, not only near their temples, but dispersed all over the country, on hills and eminences, large coped heaps of stones, of a round form, growing gradually more taper upwards, but with a flat stone always at the top, distinguished by the name of *Carnedde*³; which being composed of stones of different qualities, from those to be found near the spot, and brought from very distant parts of the country, seem to have been designed for sacrifices; to which every body present contributed by bringing a stone for his offering; of which custom, there are to this day some traces both in *Wales* and *Ireland*.

No sacrifice could be performed without a⁴ *Druid* to officiate: The private ones of particular families, as well as those of a more publick nature, in behalf of the state and country in general, being equally subject to this regulation. There hath been frequently observed, near the places of sacrifice and temples of the *Britains*, a small eminence, either naturally or artificially raised above the level of the encircling ground; from whence it is supposed the *Druides* use to instruct the people in the rules of morality, which they laid down for their conduct, and in the doctrines of religion which they thought fit to communicate. All such instructions, whether given to a general auditory, or to their pupils in particular, were delivered in a symbolical and ænigmatical manner, couched in fables and parables, or veiled in allegories, involutions and shadows, agreeable to the custom of the east, and to the practise of *Pythagoras* and other ancient philosophers. Their authority

¹ *Mona antiq.* 47, 52, 48. *Toland's Letters about the Druides.* ² From the Hebrew *Cærem-luch*, signifying a devoted stone, or altar. ³ From the Hebrew *Keren nedh*, a coped heap. ⁴ *Cæf.* l. i. *Diod* l. v. *Strabo* l. iv.

in sacred and religious matters was absolute: Nor could it well be otherwise, considering that their pretences to divination were universally believed by the people, (who looked upon them as interpreters of the will of the Gods,) and that they had the power of designing the victims proper to be sacrificed.

THEY had a like authority in point of ¹ judicature; in the controversies of princes and states, as well as of private men; in civil matters as well as criminal; in capital crimes and suits of the highest consequence, as well as in points of an inferior class and less importance. ² If any heinous offence was perpetrated, if any slaughter or murder was committed, if any dispute happened about the succession of inheritances, or quarrel arose about the boundaries of lands and territories, the *Druids* took cognisance of the matter; ordering satisfaction to be given, and decreed punishments, as the case deserved. Whatever their sentence was, it was sure to be executed; since whoever refused, (whether prince, magistrate, or private person) to submit to their decrees, was interdicted the use of sacrifices; which could not but extremely affect a superstitious people, bred up in a notion of the absolute necessity of those sacrifices, and of their own indispensable obligation to attend frequently the service and solemnities of their altars. This interdict was attended with other consequences that were very terrible; those that were subject to it being deemed the most wicked and profligate of men, avoided as such by all the world, as if their very presence was infectious, deprived of all intercourse and conversation with others, excluded from all benefit of law, and rendered incapable of all places of trust and offices of honour; penalties abundantly sufficient to prevent any contempt or disobedience of their sentence. This was a very great power: But it is generally acknowledged that they used it well; the *Druides* ³ being much celebrated, for their equitable and impartial administration of justice; and the services which they did the publick in this respect, justly entitled them to the privileges they enjoyed, of exemption from personal attendance in war, and all kinds of military service; from the publick taxes and contributions, to which the rest of the nation were subject, and from all other duties and burdens whatsoever. It is disputed whether this power was merely declarative: ⁴ So indeed a learned *Britain* maintains it to be; and thinks, though their decrees extended to life and death, yet the execution thereof was wholly transferred to the secular power of the province or city to which they belonged. But this is judging of ancient times, by the usages of modern, the ordinary source of endless mistakes; and though a declarative power, such as our judges have, may be sufficient to answer all the purposes of judicature in our days, yet it can hardly be supposed to have done so, in the early times of the *Britains*, when the state of things, and the circumstances of people, were vastly different. Nations must be formed before they can make laws; and till then, all judges must decide causes by the light of reason, and according to the principles of natural equity; which decisions serve afterwards for precedents, and a guide to others in the like cases. The *Druides* made Ethics a principal part of their study, and instructed the people in the rules of justice, and in all other points of morality by their rhythmical composition, of which there are several still to be seen among the ⁵ poems of *Llewarch Hen*, (who was prince of *Cumberland*, A. D. 590.) in the *Venedotian* dialect, which is very different from the *Cumbrian* or *Pictish*; these having probably been preserved by the memories of their scholars till the know-

¹ *Ib.*² *Cæsar*, *ib.*³ *Strabo*, l. iv.⁴ *Mona Antiq.* p. 66.⁵ *Ib.* 266, 267.

ledge of letters came in with the *Romans*. Till then the *Britains* could have no written laws; nor could the reports of law cases and decisions, the *responsa prudentum*, be recorded in any manner, but by the means of those memories, which were cultivated by the care of the *Druids*, and exercised under their direction. Thus were they the only persons qualified to be judges: And if one *common law* was observed alike, through all the different governments and nations of *Britain*, it must be either of their enacting, who had an authority in every one, or be established in a general council of the whole, where they had the chief influence. In this light, I consider them as law-givers; and as such, they are represented by the tradition of the *Manksimen*, who ascribe to the *Druids* those excellent laws, so highly valued by themselves, and so much admired by others, by which the *Isle of Man* has always been governed.

ONE of the powers vested in them was of a very extraordinary nature, and attended with a trust of the highest consequence; which yet seems a branch of their ordinary authority, and an essential part of the constitution of some of the wisest states in *Gaule*. It was only after disasters had actually happened, or when dangers were imminent, that the *Romans* had recourse to a *Dictator*, or the senate enlarged the consul's power, by charging him to take care, that the commonwealth should receive no detriment: but the *Gauls*, to guard against all surprizes by sudden accidents, which might not allow time for thinking of a proper remedy, had a standing provision for the like purposes. The *Druids* had a power paramount to that of the magistrates, not excepting even the ordinary power of the supreme; and seem to have had a constant charge to inspect their conduct, to take care the laws were observed, and to prevent the mischiefs of their being violated. They could vacate the acts of the sovereign, remove such as were put into office illegally, and appoint the supreme magistrate; of which *Cæsar* gives us a remarkable instance. The *Vergobret* was the supreme magistrate among the *Ædui*, and under that title enjoyed all the authority, which a king had in other states of *Gaule*; with this only difference, that the power of the latter lasted for life; whereas the *Vergobret's* expired, like that of a *Roman* consul, at the end of his year; the *Ædui* having made the office annual, for fear a longer continuance in power should afford any of their princes means to usurp the royalty. They had another wise provision, calculated for the like purpose; which other states, particularly that of *Venice*, have thought worthy of their imitation: two brothers, whilst both were living, could not be made magistrates, nor even admitted into the senate. Notwithstanding this law, so wisely providing for the security of their liberties, *Vedeliacus* the *Vergobret*, being, before he laid down his office, to appoint another, who was to execute it upon the expiration of his year, either named of himself, or got the other magistrates to join with him in naming, his brother *Cotys* for his successor. The *Druids* hereupon interposed with their prerogative, superseded the nomination of *Cotys*, and appointed *Convidolitanus Vergobret*. The whole state was interested in the affair; all the world attended at the hearing of a cause, on which the fundamentals of their constitution depended; and it appears by the decision, that the *Druids* had proceeded according to law, and had exercised their prerogative justly; the nomination of *Cotys* was declared illegal, and *Convidolitanus* was pronounced the rightful *Vergobret*.

It was not the exemplariness of the lives of the *Druids*, though really unblameable in all respects, except in what related to their sacrifices, divinations, and superstitions, nor the goodness of their moral instructions, gaining them such an influence

! *Cæsar de Bello Gallico*, l. vii.

over the people, as to persuade them to consent to their regulations ; nor yet was it their power in matters of religion, or the terror of their excommunications, extorting a forced submission to the laws they prescribed, which gave them the authority of legislators, tho' the opinion of their integrity might contribute to the last mentioned branch of their power. It is a very mistaken notion to consider them purely as ecclesiastics ; they were men of the first quality in the *Celtic* nations, and their legislative authority was the result of their birthright. ¹ *Cæsar* begins his discourse about them with observing that in *Gaule*, the constitution whereof was the same as that of *Britain*, there were three orders of men, *viz.* the *Druids*, the *Equites* or gentlemen, and the *Plebeians* ; that these last were of no consideration in the state ; never admitted to any council of particular nations, or to any general representation of the whole body of the people of *Gaule*, nor consulted with upon any occasion. He says that the *Druids* were the first of the other two orders² ; they presided in all acts of judicature, and were at the head of the legislature ; they were the *great*, the *chief* or *supreme magistrates*, and the most distinguished of their nobility. They composed in those days, (if I may be allowed to borrow expressions from more modern times,) the principal part of what hath been since called, in *France* the *Court of Peers*, and in *England* the court or *Great council of the Barons*. See here, in a constitution founded by the *Old Britains*, the first draught of that which hath since obtained in this nation, as it stood before the name of *Parliament* was known, and before burroughs were incorporated, or capable of having representatives.

THE particular charge, which the *Druids* had in matters of religion, was neither derogatory to their nobility, nor incompatible with their dignities in the state : they continued to enjoy their rights in both respects ; they inherited and exercised royalty itself. There are instances enough in former days, besides those noted ones of *Anius* in *Greece*, and *Zoroaster* in *Bactriana*, of kings that have executed the functions of priests, at the same time that they reigned as monarchs. It was indeed the general practice in all parts of the world, for princes to preside in all rites of religion and augury ; and when particular institutions for those purposes began to take place, we see that the *Curetes* in *Crete*, the *Corybantes* in *Phrygia*, and the *Cabiri* of *Samothrace*, were all of the race of *Acmon*, *Uranus*, and other *Gomarian* princes, those lords of half the habitable world. *Cres* the son of *Jupiter* was king of *Crete*, as well as one of the *Curetes* : *Jasion*, another of that deified monarch's sons, was president of the *Cabiri* : The *Druids* (I am apt to think) were descendants of the same race, and of the line of *Pluto*, from whom the *Gauls* in general gloried in being descended ; but as this cannot be supposed to be fact with regard to the whole nation, it seems meant more particularly of the *Druids*, who would naturally preserve their own genealogies. The *Gauls* opinion of this descent of theirs, was founded upon the relation of the *Druids* : and the chieftains of their clans being initiated into the same discipline, furnished a colour for the whole nation to put in a claim to the same descent, as being generally of the same family with their respective chieftains. But however they were descended, the institution of the *Druids* at least was formed upon the same plan as that of the *Curetes*. *Divitiacus*, a prince of the *Ædui*, whose credit was great among all the nations of *Gaule*, who is so often mentioned, and always with esteem, by *Cæsar*, and who was

¹ L. vi.

² Whoever considers that the terms *Magistracies* and *Honours* were of the same import among the *Greeks* ^a, and in the *Roman* law ; that part of it, which consisteth in the edicts of magistrates, was styled ^b *Jus honorarium* ; will easily comprehend

the force of *Cæsar's* expression, when he adds, in the words immediately preceding his particular account of their judicial authority, that the *Druides* were all *in magno honore*, as their president had the *summa auctoritas*.

^a *Aristot. Pol.* l. iii. c. 10.

^b *Edicta Instit. de jure naturali gent.*

upon occasion general in chief of the *Æduan* armies, was (as we are told by *Cicero*, who knew him well) a *Druid*. His brother *Dumnorix*, commander of the *Æduan Cavalry*, seems likewise to have been of the same order; and this character of his to have been the ground of his excuse for not attending *Cæsar* into *Britain*, because he was *religionibus impeditus*, hindered by the rites of religion, in which he was obliged to officiate; it being, as *Cæsar* says, the peculiar business of the *Druids*¹, *interpretari religiones*, to judge in matters of augury, and to officiate in all sacrifices and rites of religion; all which are included in the word *religiones*². It is very likely that the *Vergobrets* and princes in other nations of *Gaule* were likewise *Druids*; *Cæsar*³, who knew them better than any other writer extant, assuring us, that they were men of the first quality.

My notion of the matter is, that, as fathers of families in the early ages of the world, were the first sacrificers, and presided in all acts of religion, so the same presidency naturally continued to be exercised by the heads of *Clans*, which are only families multiplied, and extended into several branches. This will soon appear, by a particular instance, to have been the constant usage in the *Hebrides* of *Scotland*, from the remotest ages down at least to the time of *Hecatæus*, if not of *Diodorus Siculus*, who quotes him for the relation. The same was probably the practice of the heads of *Clans* in *Gaule*; who, when for their common defence, they united together to form particular states, under the ordinary government of a senate, and the extraordinary one of a common or general council, meeting annually, or assembled on special occasions, came to be styled princes; as they really were in their respective territories, and are under that title frequently mentioned by *Cæsar*. When the Druidical institution took place, which was the same, at least in substance, with that of the *Curetes*, into which, *Jupiter*, *Mercury*, and all the first *Celtic* emperors entered, and which seems to have been at first confined to their family; such of the heads of *Clans* or lesser potentates in *Gaule*, as, upon the extinction of that race of monarchs, were left to a freer and more unlimited exercise of their natural authority, and had a mind to perfect themselves in the arts of augury and divination⁴, so useful to strengthen their ordinary authority, and procure them an absolute submission from their vassals, entered likewise into it, and were instructed in that discipline. Those who were thus initiated, though they still enjoyed the title of princes⁵ in common with the rest, were yet on that account distinguished by the name of *Druids*⁶: and being probably still more distinguished

¹ *Cæs. de Bell. Gall.* l. vi. c. 7. ² *Tacit. Ann.* 1. n. 11. [Augusto] templum et cœlestes *religiones* decernuntur. *Ann.* 3. n. 26. *Numa* populum *religionibus* devinxit.

³ Such I take *Mefius*, prince or chieftain of the *Senones* to have been, who going from *Gaule* to *Rome* with *Ganna* a *She-Druid*, their divinations and predictions recommended them so much to the emperor *Domitian* that he did them very great honours. *Suidas* v. *Διάζωρα*

⁴ *Cicero de Divinat.* l. 1. Omnino apud *Veteres*, qui rerum potiebantur, iidem auguria tenebant; ut enim sapere, sic divinare regale ducebant: ut testis est nostra Civitas, in qua et *Reges*, *Augures*, et postea privati, eodem sacerdotio præditi Remp. religionum auctoritate rexerunt. Eaque divinationum ratio, ne in barbaris quidem gentibus neglecta est; siquidem et in *Gallia* *Druides* sunt; à quibus ipse *Divitiacum* *Ileduum*—cognovi—So the *Athenian* republic, had a *rex sacrorum*; and their heralds reply to the *Bœotians*, in *Thucyd.*

l. iv. is to this effect: Jus apud Græcos hujusmodi est, ut penes quos imperium sit cujuscunque sive magni sive parvi imperii penes eosdem sint semper templa, et loca sacra.

⁵ So the heads of tribes among the Jews are constantly styled by *Moses*; so the chieftains of clans and hords among the *Germans* and *Scythians* are called by the *Roman* writers.

⁶ It was to such as abode in the seminaries that the name of *Druid* was generally applied, the same persons when acting elsewhere in public affairs, being styled only *Priests* by *Cæsar*, whose mistake about the *Germans* having no *Druids* among them seems to have arisen from their having no seminaries for their instruction, as there were in *Gaule* and *Britain*. *Cluver* has fully proved that they had *Druids*.—It is not unlikely but they were instructed in some *British* seminary, most probably in the *Hebrides*, because they retained more of the old simplicity of their religion, than those who had a greater intercourse with other nations.

from them by their learning, capacity, integrity, and reputation, were thereupon more particularly intrusted with the extraordinary prerogatives above mentioned.

THIS notion, of the chiefs of clans and heads of tribes among the *Gauls* being *Druids*, is not a little countenanced by a relation which is given us by ¹*Parthenius* (who being taken in the war with *Mithridates*, was brought to *Rome* by ²*Cinna*) and by *Aristodemus* of *Nysa* in *Caria*, who was preceptor to *Strabo* and *Pompey*, or rather father to that *Aristodemus*, under whom those great men studied. The *Celtæ*, inhabiting *Gallia Braccata*, before it was reduced by the *Romans* into a province, were much given to plunder: and equipping a fleet, made descents on the coasts of *Ionica* in the lesser *Asia*; sacking towns, and ravaging all the country. A chieftain of the *Cavares* (a *Gallic* people inhabiting along the eastern bank of the *Rhone*, about *Orange*, *Avignon*, and *Cavaillon*) straggling from the main body of the army, and roving about those parts with his men, advanced to the extremity of that country on the side of *Caria*, into the territory of *Miletus*. The women of that place chanced to be at that time keeping a great festival, and celebrating the *Thesmophoria* of *Ceres*, in a temple that stood at a little distance without the walls of the city: and were there surprized and carried off by the enemy. Most of them were however redeemed by the *Milesians*, who disbursed large sums of money on that occasion: but some of the fair captives were become too well acquainted with their new masters, and too agreeable in their eyes, to be admitted to any ranfome. These were carried away into *Gaule*, and among them *Erippe*, the wife of *Xanthus*, a man of great authority, and of the noblest family in *Miletus*; leaving behind her a son not above two years old, who had not been carried to the temple. *Xanthus*, infinitely fond of his wife, pined away after this misfortune: and, unable to support her absence longer, turned a great part of his estate into money, with which he passed into *Italy*; where he had some particular acquaintance, who convoyed him to *Marseille*. From thence he travelled into the country of the *Gauls*: and coming to the house, where his wife lived with one of the most eminent of the *Celtic* nobility, desired to be lodged and entertained. The *Gauls* were always famed for their hospitality; and the servants, though their lord was not at home, received him readily: as his wife, upon entering the house, did, with all the exterior marks of kindness. When the *Cavaran* Chieftain came home, *Erippe* acquainted him with her husband's arrival, and with the occasion of his journey; which was on her account, in order to pay her ransom. The *Gaul* extolled the tender and generous sentiments of *Xanthus*; treated him in the friendliest manner; and placing his wife next him at a great entertainment, to which his own friends and relations in the neighbourhood were invited, asked him what was the value of his whole estate. *Xanthus* saying it was about a thousand pieces of gold, the *Gaul* ordered him to divide that sum into four equal parts, and to take away three of them for himself, his wife, and son, but to leave the fourth for his wife's ransom. At night, when they were retired into their bed-chamber, *Erippe* blamed her husband for telling the Barbarian he was worth so much money; it being probably more than he had brought with him, or was able to pay, and then he would run a great risque, if he did not make good his promise. *Xanthus* bade her be in no pain on that account, for he had a thousand pieces more concealed in his servant's shoes; never imagining that he should find a Barbarian so humane and reasonable, but fully expecting, that a much dearer price would have been set upon her ranfome. The next day, *Erippe* told the *Gaul* what a quantity of gold her husband had brought; and pressed him earnestly to

¹ *Parthenii Nicæensis Erotica*, c. 8.

² *Vossius de Histor. Græcis.*

kill *Xanthus*, either for deceiving him, or for the sake of his money; declaring that she loved him much more than either her child or her country, and that *Xanthus* was of all things her utter aversion. The *Gaul*, who had noble and generous sentiments, worthy of his birth and quality, was strangely shocked at a proposal so full of horror, treachery, and inhumanity; so unnatural in a wife to offer against an husband at any time, especially after such a signal testimony of his affection: But though he covered his indignation, resolved to punish her crime, and treat her as the worst of women. When *Xanthus* was taking his leave, in order to return with *Erippe*, the *Cavaran* chieftain, after treating him with the utmost kindness, would needs add a further politeness to the rest, and convoy them part of their way to *Marseille*. When they came to the mountains on the borders of the *Celtic* territories, he there declared, he would offer a sacrifice before they parted. It was a ceremony generally observed in other nations, as well as by the *Jews*, for some of the persons, in whose behalf a victim was offered, to lay their hands upon it: And *Erippe* had been used to perform that ceremony at this *Chieftain's* house, whenever he offered a sacrifice. Thus when the victim was adorned as usual, he bade her lay her hand upon it; and making a thrust with his sword, ran her through the body, and cut off her head; desiring *Xanthus* not to be inconsolable for the loss of a person, whose treachery to him merited the punishment inflicted on her; and giving him back the gold, which he had paid for her ransom. 'Tis well known, that in *Gaule* none but *Druids* could offer sacrifices; and the fact here related is an irrefragable proof, that this chieftain of the *Cavari*, though he lived among his own vassals, and sometimes went on war-like expeditions, was still one of that order.

In all institutions whatever, where knowledge is requisite, instructions are undoubtedly necessary: and for this purpose certain seminaries were erected for the education of *Druids*, as at *Dreux* for *Gaule*, and in *Anglesey* for *Britain*. It was probably the most aged of the order, that retired thither from the cares of the world, after passing the vigour of their life in business; for the rest, that lived in scenes of action, were active men, versed in state affairs, and of the greatest weight in all councils, as we see in the instance of *Divitiacus*: there too they employed themselves still usefully for the public, in the instruction of young *Druids*, and in the care of those colleges or seminaries. Such instruction therefore carries with it no implication, that it might in time debase the order; for, besides that it was continued ordinarily in their own children, in whom the nobility of birth was propagated, no Plebeian could be admitted into their discipline, nor probably any of the *Noblesse* or less illustrious Gentry. For *Mela*¹ tells us, that those whom they thus instructed, whom they kept to hard study and a continued exercise of their memory for twenty years together in a close retreat, were *nobilissimi gentis*, the children of Princes, and the chief nobility of the Nation.

This will probably make people less wonder, if not less repine, at that authority, which *Dio*² *Chrysostom* thought exorbitant, and complains of their exercising over Princes; whose actions they had a power, like that of the Spartan *Ephori*, to controul. “Kings (says he) were not allowed to do any thing without them; nor even so much as to consult about putting any thing in execution without their participation; so that it is the *Druids* who reign in effect, and Kings, though they sit on thrones, feast in splendour, and live in palaces, are no more than their Apparitors and Ministers in executing their orders.” But notwithstanding this heavy complaint, it will appear to be a very wise institution, and admirably adapted

¹ Lib. iii. c. 2.² Orat. 43.

to the then circumstances of *Gaule* and *Britain*. *Gaule* was inhabited (as ¹ *Tacitus* says) by sixty four different nations; but he reckons only the most considerable, whose community was made up of several distinct, though united, nations. For *Appian*² informs us, that, taking in small as well as great, there were in all no less than four hundred. They formed together one aggregate body, and met in a *general council* once a year, in order to exercise and maintain their union. This was a very proper expedient to preserve peace among them; but it was not effectual enough; since, (as ³ *Cæsar* says) before his coming thither, there scarce passed a year but a war broke out, on occasion of depredations committed, opposed, or returned by some or other of those different nations. What the avarice⁴, to which the *Gauls* were remarkably given, or the fire and impetuosity of their temper, either left no means, or did not allow time, to prevent, the interposition of the *Druids* served very usefully to compose and keep from continuing.

THEY were an order of men of the first quality; endowed with all that greatness of mind, which a noble birth, uncorrupted by vice and luxury, naturally inspires; fitted by their education, studies, reflections, experience, and a continual exercise of their talents in the decision of cases, which came before them in judicature, to determine all matters of right and wrong, according to the wisest rules of equity; collected out of all the various nations spread through the wide extent of that country, and related to all the princely and noble families that had the chief influence and government in each; unconcerned themselves in the quarrel, by means of their exemption from personal service in the war, whenever they thought fit to use their privilege; uninterested in the event, by reason as well of their ordinary abode in Colleges, retired from the world, and at a distance from all to whom they were by blood related; as of the satisfaction they found in a contemplative life, and the every-way-happy circumstances of their condition, which left them nothing to wish for themselves, and no desire in nature but, that which can never leave a man of virtue, the desire of being useful to the world. With these advantages, added to the sacredness of their character; the reverence for their persons, which religion inspired into a people extremely addicted to it; the universal submission ever paid to their advice and decrees; their absolute power in sacrifices, and the inexpressible dread of their interdicts, rendered them the fittest persons to interpose between jarring enraged nations, and the likeliest to do it with success. They did so accordingly, as occasions offered; regardless of their own safety, and despising danger, where the peace of their country was at stake, and the publick good required their mediation, “they
“threw themselves between embattled armies, eager to engage, advancing with
“drawn swords, and extended spears to wreck their fury upon one another, put, by
“their wise remonstrances, a stop to the rage of incensed enemies, making their
“weapons drop from their hands, as it were by enchantment, and thus prevented
“the combat: so highly doth *Mars* reverence the *Muses*, so much can wisdom
“prevail over animosity, even among barbarous Nations,” is the reflection of the *Greek* ⁶historian at the end of this relation.

SUCH were the benefits which *Gaule* and *Britain* received from the institution of the *Druids*; from a body of men composed of the prime nobility, associated together according to the rules of the Druidical discipline; which afforded them a means of preserving union between the various nations which inhabited those countries, and a resource in case of quarrels between them, better and more effectual, than *Greece* found in her celebrated *Amphictyones*. The *Gauls* had a general

¹ *Ann.* l. iii. n. 44. *Strabo*, l. iv.

² *Appian in Celtic.* ³ *Lib.* vi.

⁴ *Diod.* l. v. p. 212. ⁵ So the Chieftains of the *Batavian Clans*, who *veteri instituto* command-

ed the cohorts of that people in the *Roman* service, which as allies they were obliged to furnish, are by *Tacitus*, *Hist.* l. vi. n. 12. styled *nobilissimi popularium*. ⁶ *Diod. Sicul.* l. iii. p. 91.

council like that of *Greece*, in which the representatives of all their different nations met, to concert measures for their common good, and provide for the preservation of their union. But the two powerful factions of the *Ædui* and *Arverni* contending (like the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* in *Greece*) for the chief sway in the government of *Gaule*, and working continually to draw over the lesser nations to their sides, occasioned the resolutions of those councils to be too much directed by a party spirit; which afforded new matter of complaint, and, instead of composing, inflamed the quarrel. War in such cases became unavoidable, and might have been carried to strange excesses, and spread so generally as to produce an entire dissolution of their union, if the *Druids* had not interposed to make an accommodation.

THEY did the same good office in *Britain*; whose constitution was formed upon the same plan, as that of *Gaule*: and they did it with better success; because they there prevented those wars, which in *Gaule*, not able to hinder their breaking out, all their business was to compose. The *Britains* had their *common councils*, where the deputies of their different people met, as they did in *Gaule*: and it was in one of these, *in communi concilio*, (as *Cæsar* says) that *Cassivellaun* was chosen commander in chief of the forces drawn together to oppose the *Romans*. But there is no reason to think them privileged here from those defects, under which they laboured there: nor is it to be conceived how such a number of little nations, (like the *Clans* of the highlands of *Scotland*, or the *Septs* of *Ireland*) as inhabited *Britain*, should be for ages together kept united; (for notwithstanding their multitude of kings, princes, and potentates, *Diodorus*¹ says they were generally at peace with each other,) without the influence and authority of the *Druids*.

Account of
Abaris a *Druid*
and the
Hyperboreans.

THE collegiate life which the *Druids* led, far from rendering them morose or awkward, served only to improve their politeness, by daily conversations with persons of the same rank with themselves; whose minds, by their studies and reasonings on subjects of morality, were filled with noble sentiments; and who had added to their other accomplishments, a knowledge of all useful parts of learning. When they went abroad into the world, they appeared the same men of quality, that they were before their retreat: And of this we have a remarkable instance, near 600 years before the Christian æra, in a *Druid*, whose travels into *Greece*, made him known to the learned men of that country; who give us an account of him, too curious and important to be passed by in silence.

It must be previously observed, that the ancient *Greeks*, knowing very little of the northern parts of the world, comprehended the inhabitants thereof under general names: Such as used bows and arrows, and lived like *Nomades*, being termed *Scythæ*: And those who lived farther north than the particular nations whose names they had heard of, being called *Hyperborei*. This last name, was usually given to the most northern people on the continent of *Europe*, from its eastern boundaries, to its farthest western extremity; ² particularly to all the *Celtick* nations. But there was likewise an *Hyperborean* island described by *Diodorus Siculus*³, as lying in the ocean beyond *Gaule*, in the northwest of *Europe*. This account of its situation, and what he adds of its being as big as *Sicily*, would make any one conclude that it was *Britain*, were it not that this island, as well as *Ireland*, was well known to that author; who proposed to give a more particular account of them, than he had done in his *Antiquities*, when he should come in the order of

¹ Ibid.

² *Cluver* in his *Germania Antiqua*, l. i. and ii. shews, that the name of *Hyperborei* was given by the ancient *Greek* writers to the *British*

Isles, and to all the *Celtic* nations from thence to *Illyricum*.

³ Lib. ii. p. 91.

time, to write the history of *Cæsar's* expedition: And there are no other isles, except the *Orcades* and *Hebrides*, that are either compatible with the situation he assigns, or agreeable to the description he gives of this *Hyperborean Island*. *Diodorus* says expressly in this passage, that he takes his account from *Hecataeus*, and other writers; and I am apt to think he gives it in their own words, but chiefly in those of *Hecataeus*, who wrote a particular treatise on the subject of the *Hyperboreans*; and, writing before the *Phœnicians* had opened the way by sea to the *British* isles, must take what he says of the island in question, from the reports of the *Hyperborean* deputies sent to *Delos*. These deputies might possibly, on some occasions, in their discourse, consider their island as a member or part of *Great Britain*, to which it adjoined, and served as a seminary for the common religion of all the *British* isles; themselves, as well as the other inhabitants, being all the same people. And thence upon the *Greeks* enquiring, whether their island was as large as the greatest of their own, (the size of which the *Hyperboreans* cannot well be supposed to know, but by the representation of the others) they might probably compare it to *Sicily* in respect of its bigness. Thus the antients speaking of the *Cassiterides*, a name appropriated to the isles of *Scilly*, and by which they are usually meant, do it often in such terms, as can agree only to *Britain*, of which perhaps they were considered as an appendage. *Diodorus* possibly might not know that the *Hyperborean* island was really *Britain*¹, or not care to deliver his opinion on the subject, and therefore chose to confine himself to the description given of it by *Hecataeus*; which though it agrees in that respect to *Britain* in general, doth yet, in other points, more particularly suit with the *Hebrides*; to which likewise agree all the accounts of its situation given by the most ancient *Greek* authors, who wrote before the *British* Isles were known to the *Phœnicians*. These represent it as the place where “*Latona* was
“ said to be born; as lying far North beyond *Celtica*, and as big as *Sicily*, and the
“ inhabitants as enjoying a temperate air, and very fruitful soil; as ad-
“ oring *Apollo*, or the *Sun*, preferably to all other deities; paying him the
“ highest honours, and singing his praises so continually, that they all seem-
“ ed to be priests appropriated to his service, and their town itself dedicated
“ to his worship. There was a fine grove and circular temple consecrated
“ to him; in which choirs of his votaries sung hymns, celebrating his actions,
“ and set to musick; whilst others playing upon the harp, (which most
“ of the inhabitants understood) answered to their voices, and formed a delight-
“ ful symphony. They had a peculiar dialect of their own, and a singular regard
“ for the *Greeks*; particularly the *Athenians* and *Delians*, with whom they had,
“ from ancient times, cultivated a friendship, confirmed by mutual visits; which
“ however having been intermitted for some time, *Abaris* (this is the name of
“ our *Druid*) was sent by the *Hyperboreans* to renew; and in return, several of
“ the *Greeks* passing to their island, left there several sacred presents to their
“ deities, with inscriptions in *Greek* characters.”

WHAT next follows is a remarkable testimony of the great progress which the *Druids* had, even before the times of *Hecataeus* and *Pythagoras*, made in the study of astronomy, and that they had found out the use of telescopes. For it is said
“ that the moon could be seen from that island at a small distance from the earth,
“ and in her face several mountainous eminencies were represented: And that
“ *Apollo* came once in nineteen years, (in which space of time the stars, having
“ made their revolutions, return to their former places, called by the *Greeks* for

¹ It seems very probable, that till the *Phœnicians* discovered *Britain*, and made that name known to the *Greeks*, this island was known by no other name than the *Hyperborean* island; and

this is hinted in the old tradition about *Xpres* in *Flanders*, mentioned by *L. Guicciardin*, viz. That it was built by an *Hyperborean*, who came thither out of the isle of *Britain*.

“ that reason, the *Great year*,) to visit the island in person; and was there
 “ every night entertained with choirs of musick and songs to the harp during
 “ the stay, which, delighted with hearing his own praises, he made there, from
 “ the vernal equinox to the rise of *Pleiades*.” This relation, however mythologically expressed in some places, shews plainly enough, that the *Cycle* of *nineteen years*, so necessary to the *Greeks*, for the due keeping of their festivals, on their appointed days and seasons, had been invented by the *Druids*, before *Abaris*’s voyage to *Greece*; which was at least 130 years earlier than *Meton*, who introduced the use of it among the *Greeks*; and probably a good while before that voyage, because the festivals then kept by the *Hyperboreans* in memory of that discovery, seem to have been long established. *Diodorus* concludes his relation with observing, that some persons called *Boreades* were lords of the island, and presided over the temple; succeeding to this authority by hereditary descent from father to son, and deriving their lineage (as he supposed) from *Boreas*. *Eratosthenes* ¹ observes further of this temple, that it was *winged*.

THERE is no island, to which this description agrees so well, as to the *Hebrides* ². *Diodorus*, by the name he gives this island, seems to point out its situation; it being natural to expect to find the *Hyperborean* island, seated in the *Hyperborean* sea; so *Claudian* ³ calls the sea, so *Ptolemy* terms the ocean, which washeth the western coast of the *Hebrides*. Some learned men are of opinion, that this was the ancient name of the western isles, and that the name *Hebudæ*, or *Hebudes*, only crept into use by the mistakes of transcribers, who, in the manuscripts they copied, taking (*ri*) for (*u*) introduced that of *Hebudes* instead of *Hebrides*; which seems to be the name originally given it by the *Phœnicians*. *Iberia* and *Ibernia* were the old names of *Ireland*, called by *Diodorus Siculus*, *Iris*, and by the natives, *Erin* ⁴, from *Hiere*, a *Celtic* or *Irish* word, signifying the *West*. Agreeable hereto, all this tract of isles termed the *Hebrides* was of old called *Heireis*; for so *Steno Sturlonides* calls them, when he hath occasion to mention them, in times earlier than the reign of *Canute*, king of *England* and *Denmark*,) a name expressing their being *western isles*, and still preserved in that of *Haries*; which tho’ more particularly used with regard to the *southern* part of the *long island*, is given frequently, not only to this large one, but to the whole tract of these islands.

THESE isles running out in length from north to south ⁵ for a hundred *Scotch*, or more than one hundred and fifty *Italian*, miles; divided only by several narrow channels, most fordable; full of fine bays and harbours on the western side, where the navigation was much the safest, might well enough by sailers, who coasted along that side, be reputed as big as *Sicily*, ’Tis evident from the discoveries which, at extraordinary low ebbs, about the vernal equinox, have been made, of stone ⁶ walls six or seven foot high, regularly built, at a considerable distance from the shore, that the sea hath gained much upon the land: and considering how shallow, as well as narrow, the channels between the now-separated isles generally are, it is not at all improbable, but they might in antient times compose but one island. They were so in fact, ⁷ if we may believe the general tradition of the inhabitants: and they were so not many ages ago, if any credit is to be given to that which

¹ *Catasterismi*, c. 9. *Sagitta*.

² So called from the *Phœnician* עבר *Eber* ^a (*ultra*) for the same reason in respect of their situation, which gave *Spain* the name of *Iberia*: both lying in the *farthest* parts of the known world; the one in the west, the other not only in the western, but (as *Diodorus* says,) in the northern extremity, being seated to the north west of *Scotland*.

³ *Claudian* de iii. *Consulat. Honorii*.

⁴ *I. e.* a western country, see *Camden’s Britannia, Ireland, initio*.

⁵ *Martin’s description of the western isles of Scotland*, p. 1. and *Philosoph. transact.* n. 4.

⁶ *Ib.* p. 15, 38. *Ib.* p. 1.

⁷ *Martin’s voyage to St. Kilda*.

^a *Bochart’s Phaleg.* p. 105, 191.

prevails in the isle of *St. Kilda*; where it is universally believed, that all the space between this island, and that of *Haries*, was one continued tract of dry land in the time of the famous *female warrior*; from whom a valley in *St. Kilda* is denominated, and whose house of stone without lime is still subsisting, and even inhabited during the summer. This at least is certain, that the whole tract of these isles is called by the inhabitants the *Long island*, and by all strangers and seafaring men, *Lewis*¹ or *Haries*; so that *Diodorus* might in his description thereof, justly call it, from its situation, the *Hyperborean island*; nor is it an unusual thing in antiquity, to speak of such a tract of isles, as if they were a single island. Thus *Schetland* or *Hetland* contains thirty isles, and yet is often styled the isle of *Schetland*; and though the *Scilly* islands, called by the ancients, *Sigdeles*, *Silures*, and *Cassiterides*, are no less than one hundred and forty-five in number; yet they are called by *Solinus*, the island *Silura*; and by *Pliny*, the island *Cassiteris*. The *Hebrides* (we are assured by Mr. *Martin*²) are temperate in respect of cold, the warmth of the sea breezes not allowing the snow to lye upon the ground to chill the air; the soil fruitful, affording excellent pastures for cattle, and extraordinary crops of corn for the inhabitants; who must have been still happier formerly in these respects, whilst their woods and forests subsisted; which (though at present they have nothing of them left besides the name) were much cultivated and carefully preserved by the *Druides*; and sheltering them from the winds that now sweep their vallies and plains, afforded them a delightful abode.

THE same genius for³ poetry, the same taste of music reign among the present inhabitants of both sexes, as did among their ancestors; and the harp is in as much request there as ever. *Apollo's* grove indeed is no more to be seen, having undergone the common fate of their forests: but among a vast number of other druidical monuments, his *winged temple* still remains entire at *Classerniss*, in the isle of *Lewis* or *Haries*, and so singular in the circumstances of its structure⁴, that it well deserved to be engraved and printed by the author of the *description* of these islands. The body of this temple (so the tradition of the place calls it,) is of a circular figure like the other temples of *Apollo*; consisting of twelve large columns, about seven foot high, two broad, and six distant from one another, with one in the center thirteen foot high, and shaped (as if dedicated to the ocean) like the rudder of a ship, from whence⁵ the chief Druid used to deliver his instructions to the people. But what is singular in this, distinguishing it from all other temples, is, that there are four wings stretching out from its sides, and pointing directly east, south, west, and north, to represent the four principal winds: as possibly the twelve pillars composing the body of the temple, might be designed as an emblem of the zodiack. The avenue to it is still more extraordinary; consisting of two rows of columns of the same size with the former, and at an equal distance from one another; the breadth of the avenue being eight foot; and the stones ranged in each row, being nineteen in number; served to represent the famous cycle of nineteen years, discovered first by the *Druids*; as the festivals instituted by them in commemoration thereof, and in honour of *Apollo*, celebrated at the beginning of each cycle, gave occasion to the fable of that deity's appearing at such times among the *Hyperboreans*; *Diodorus*⁶ telling us, that the like fable of *Jove's* appearing among the *Egyptians*, was owing to the like festivals being instituted and kept in honour of that deity. At a quarter of a mile's distance from this, there is another temple, probably dedicated to the moon, agreeable to the practise of

¹ Or *Lod-buis*, as it was anciently called, the word signifying the habitation of *Leod*, (or perhaps *Leowthen* mentioned by *Danish* writers) whose being lord or governor of the island, might perhaps

occasion the old name of *Haries* to fall into disuse.

² Descript. p. 2, 3, 15, 31, 36, 42, 53, 139.

³ Ib. p. 14, 19, 200, 285.

⁴ Ib. p. 9.

⁵ Ib. p. 102.

⁶ L. i. ad finem.

Delos; where the temples of *Apollo* and *Diana* were not far asunder: and it doth not appear that the *Britains* used to have temples so near each other, except in case of these two deities; as in ¹ those by the side of *Loch-stenis*, on the *Mainland* of the *Orkneys*, where there is a *semicircular* temple for the worship of the moon, (at the change, or in her first quarter, when she appears in the form of a crescent,) at a small distance from that of *Apollo*. This joint-worship of the two children of *Latona*, so resembling that of *Delos*, might occasion the fable of *Latona's* being born among the *Hyperboreans*: and that of the descent of these islanders from the *Boreades*, if not purely mythological², (as *Jamblicus* tells us many things were said of *Abaris* in that manner,) and designed only to express their situation in the farthest quarter of the north; may yet be accounted for by a mistake (easily pardonable in a foreigner,) of the word *Borreadbach*³ or *Buireadbach*, a style belonging to the heads or chiefs of tribes; the word signifying (in the *Earse*, the peculiar dialect of this people, and different from the *Armorican* and other *Celtick* dialects) *great* and *warlike* men; from the root *borr*, denoting *majesty* or *greatness*: these *great ones* being, according to the *Druids* system, at once presidents in religion, and lords of the country, and enjoying both dignities by an hereditary lineal descent. ⁴ Agreeable hereto, some of the present chieftains in these islands can trace up this descent higher than most princes can do theirs, even to ⁵ thirty-five or thirty-six generations; and are submitted to by their vassals with so entire an affection, and so implicate an obedience, so different from what we see in any other part of the world, that it looks like the first and main part of their religion, to pay it to the eldest inheritor in blood of the first or eldest line of the family of their ancient chieftains. This is so very singular, that it seems utterly unaccountable, in any other manner, than by supposing it transmitted from father to son, among a people that has little intercourse with any other, from the very times, when their *Lairds* were *Druids*, and had a sovereign power in religion, as well as in civil and judicial matters, united in their persons.

THE conformity in religious worship between the people of *Delos*, and those of the *Hebrides*, produced a very early correspondence between them; for these are the *Hyperborei* mentioned by *Herodotus*⁶, as utterly unknown to the *Scythians*, (who had no intercourse with the *British* isles,) but much spoken of at *Delos*; whither they used to send, from time to time, (probably every nineteen years,) “ sacred presents of their first fruits, wrapped in bundles of wheat straw; such
“ as were made use of by the *Thracians* in their sacred rites and sacrifices to
“ *Diana*. These were sent at first by persons expressly deputed for those religious
“ embassies; who were generally two young virgins, attended by five men,
“ having the like sacred character, to conduct them to *Delos*, where they were re-

¹ *Martin's western isles*, p. 365.

² In the poetical and mythological way of expression; it was not unusual to call *Harpers*, sons of *Phœbus*; smiths, of *Vulcan*; hunters, of *Diana*; kings, of *Jove*; soldiers, of *Mars*; and to speak of those who in any thing resembled the Gods, as if they were their sons. It was full as natural for them to speak in like manner, of people who lived on the banks of the sea or rivers, as if they were children thereof: and to give the style of sons of *Boreas* to such as dwelt in a northern situation. 'Tis in this sense, that *Callimachus* calls *Opis*, *Loxo*, and *Hecæerge*, some of the *Hyperborean* sacred ambassadors, the daughters of *Boreas*: (*Hymn. in Delum*, v. 293.) so *Homer*, before he fell blind, was always called *Melesigenes*, as being born near the river *Meles*: and the *Theſſalian* virgins are called by *Callimachus*, the daughters of

the river (*Penens*). 'Tis in this sense, that I think the *Hyperboreans*, were said to be descended of *Boreas*.

³ *Archæol. Brit.* in the *Irish English dictionary*.

⁴ The priesthood in the most ancient times was hereditary in all countries, and was particularly so in the *Celtic* nations; where the order of *Druids* did not only descend to their posterity, but the office of *priests* was likewise hereditary in families; as we see in *Plutarch's* relation of *Camma*, the hereditary priestess of *Diana*, a *Celtic* lady of great quality, whom he celebrates as an admirable instance of chastity, conjugal fidelity, constancy, fortitude, and heroic virtue. *Plut. de virtut. mulier. & in Erotic.*

⁵ *Descript. western isles*, p. 100.

⁶ *Lib. iv. n. 32.*

“ceived with the greatest honours.” That ancient historian hath preserved the names given by the *Delians*, to the maidens employed in two of these embassies: And describes the particular places of their interment in the grove of *Diana*. The *Delians* sprinkled the ashes of their altars on the shrine of *Argis* and *Opis*; caused *Olen* the *Lycian*, famous for his poetical genius, and author of many of their ancient sacred hymns, which continued to be sung in their religious festivals, till the time of *Herodotus*, to compose one likewise, in which the names of these virgins were mentioned, and their praises celebrated; assembled choirs of their women to sing them; and engaged the *Ionians* and other inhabitants of the *Greek* islands, to do the same in their choirs and assemblies. The last deputies of this kind sent by the *Hyperboreans*, were *Hyperocke* and *Laodice*; at whose funerals the young men and women of *Delos* cut off their hair and beard, and before their respective marriages offered it upon their tombs with great solemnity. These honours, extraordinary as they were, did not satisfy the *Hyperboreans* for the detention of their ambassadors at *Delos*, from whence they never returned: so that either resenting the usage, or not caring to lose more of the most distinguished persons of their country, they took afterwards another method of sending their sacred presents to the temples of *Apollo* and *Diana*; delivering them to the nation that lay nearest them on the continent of *Europe*, with a request that they might be forwarded to their next neighbours: and thus (says *Herodotus*) they were transmitted from one people to another, through the *western regions*, till they came to the *Adriatic*; and being there put into the hands of the *Dodoneans*, the first of the *Greeks* that received them, they were conveyed thence by the *Melian bay*, *Eubæa*, *Carystus*, *Andros*, and *Tenos*, till at last they arrived at *Delos*.

THERE is not a fact in all antiquity, that made a greater noise in the world, was more universally known, or is better attested by the gravest and most ancient authors among the *Greeks*, than this of the sacred embassies of the *Hyperboreans* to *Delos*; in times preceding, by an interval of some ages, the voyages of the *Carthaginians*, to the north of the streights of *Gibraltar*; to which possibly the reports about that people might give the occasion. The account already given of them, in the words of *Diodorus Siculus*, is taken from an history expressly wrote on the subject of these *Hyperboreans*, by a writer, who of all the ancients, may be reasonably supposed to have known them best; by *Hecataeus*, the most ancient of the *Greek* historians that wrote in prose, (except perhaps *Cadmus Milesius*, in whose time however he lived) writing in the reign of *Darius Hystaspis*; flourishing in the 65th *Olympiad*, and being cotemporary with *Pythagoras*, if not with *Abaris* himself; in whom these sacred embassies seem to have ended. But as some later writers among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, destitute of the knowledge, which was revived from time to time by those embassies, seem to have confounded the inhabitants of the *Hyperborean island*, with the *Hyperborei* of the continent; it may not be improper to take notice of what others of the most ancient and judicious of the *Greek* authors say upon the subject, with regard to the situation, the genius, the points of knowledge, and the religious doctrines of the *Hyperboreans*, who held such a correspondence with *Delos*.

As to their situation, we have observed them placed by *Herodotus*, in the *western extremity* of *Europe*; their sacred presents being brought through the *western* countries possessed by the *Celtæ*, till they came to the *Adriatic* sea, and were delivered to the *Dodoneans*. ¹ *Pindar* represents them, as inhabiting beyond the source of the *Danube*, i. e. in the *west* among the *Celtæ*; whence *Hercules* fetched the wild olive to grace the brows of the victors at the *Olympic* games: and the

¹ *Olymp. Ode* iii. and viii.

Greek Scholia on the place interpret this by a passage, which they quote from the poet *Pherenicus*, wherein those *Hyperboreans* are said to inhabit the utmost parts of the earth, and to be descended of the *Titans*; as the *Celtæ* were according to *Callimachus*¹, and other ancient writers. ² *Protarchus*, *Posidonius*, *Apollonius*, and *Stephanus* assign them the like *Celtic* situation; whilst others³ place them in the ocean between the western coast of *Europe* and the eastern shore of the *Antipodes*: and *Heraclides Ponticus*, who lived about the time of *Rome's* being taken by *Brennus*, is quoted by ⁴ *Plutarch*, for saying, that the report which came from the west into *Greece* of that disaster, represented the city as taken by an army of foreigners that came from the country of the *Hyperboreans* near the ocean. The author of the *Argonautica*, ascribed to *Orpheus*, but generally supposed to be wrote by *Onomacritus*, an *Athenian* cotemporary with *Pisistratus*, says, that the *Argonauts* sailing from the northern parts of the frozen ocean, or dead sea, towards *Gades*, and visiting the long lived people⁵ and *Cimmerii* in their way, passed, before they came to the coast of *Iernis*, or *Ireland*, through the *Cronian* or *Saturnian* sea; which can be no other than the *Hyperborean*, (as *Claudian* and *Ptolomy* call it) in which the *Hebrides* are seated. This will help to explain and point out to us, the scene of two very extraordinary relations, which we read in the works of *Plutarch*.

THIS learned ⁶ *Greek* tells us, that *Demetrius Tarsensis*, an eminent grammarian, who had been sent by the emperor to discover the isles about *Great Britain*, and the unknown part of the coast, upon his return from thence to *Delphos*, met with some learned men, to whom he related the following adventure. Having observed, “ that there are a great many islands lying scattered about *Britain*, (like the *Sporades* of the *Greeks*) all uninhabited, but some of them said be the abode of heroes and *Genii*:” (terms used by the ancients to denote the ghosts or souls of persons deceased) he added, “ that coming to another, which lay very near those desert isles, but had in it a few inhabitants; though such only as were reputed sacred and inviolable, by the *Britains*, there happened presently after his arrival, a terrible confusion, with frightful appearances in the air, and violent storms, attended with thunder and lightning; that when all was over, the islanders told him, some being more excellent than any purely human, had then expired and occasioned all that disturbance: and that there was indeed an island thereabouts, in which *Saturn* was sleeping under the custody of *Briareus*; (sleep being the bond contrived to detain him) with abundance of *Genii* or *Dæmons*, who having served him whilst living for companions, now waited upon him in the quality of servants and attendants.” To the like purpose the same author⁸ in another treatise, having introduced his discourse by the mention of *Homer's Ogygia*, the famous island of *Calypso*, five days sail from the *Roman* ports in *Britain*, observes that, “ there were three other islands, about the same distance, lying towards the

¹ *Hymn. in Delum*, §. 174.

Antonin. Metam. c. 20.

Olymp. Ode iii.

⁴ *In Camillo*.

⁵ It is said of these *Macrobii*, or long lived people, that they lived to a vast age, without any sickness, and when they began to find any decay, being fatiated of life, they threw themselves from top of a rock into the sea, the abode of the *Deorum genitor*. The long lives of the *Hebrides*, and the continued health which they enjoy to the last, scarce ever interrupted by any sickness, is a fact notorious enough at this day; and it is not unlikely but they had formerly such a way of ending them, since in the *Isle of Man*, which generally shared in

² *Not. in*

³ *Not. in Pindar.*

the common fate of those isles, and agreed with them in customs, their method, even till *Camden's* time, of putting condemned criminals to death, was by putting them into a sack, and throwing them into the sea.

⁶ In his discourse *De defectu Oraculorum*.

⁷ Mr. *Rowlands* (in *Mona Antiqua*) is willing to take this island for *Anglesey*, but it neither hath so many desert islands about it as the *Hebrides*, nor doth it lie in the *Cronian* sea, as the other; which hath the advantage of *Mona* in those respects, as well as in the remains, still to be seen there of the *Druids*.

⁸ *Plut. de facie in orbe Lunæ*.

“ north west; in one of which the Barbarians say, *Saturn* was shut up by *Jove*,
 “ sleeping in a deep den between rocks, (from the top of which birds flying fed
 “ him with *Ambrosia*) and had the guard of those isles, as well as of the *Cronian*
 “ or *Saturnian* sea adjoining; being attended by *Genii*, who had in their life time
 “ been his companions, whilst he ruled over heaven and earth; that every thing
 “ *Jove* designed, was revealed to *Saturn* in his sleep, and from his dreams the
 “ *Genii* divined and foretold future events; that the inhabitants kept every thir-
 “ tieth¹ year a solemn festival in honour of *Saturn*, when his star entred into the
 “ sign of *Taurus*; that in after ages some of *Hercules*’s companions (or *Greek* and
 “ *Carthaginian* travellers) came at the stated times to those festivals, and sacrificed
 “ to *Hercules*, as well as *Saturn*; that some of these staying there, made use of
 “ the opportunities which the island afforded for studying *Astrology*, *Geometry*, and
 “ all other parts of natural philosophy; and that others, taking it into their heads
 “ to go away, had been sometimes hindered by the *Genius* of the place, who ap-
 “ peared to them not only in dreams and by symbols; but visible, so as to be
 “ seen and heard in the plainest manner.” Whether this hath any relation to the
second sight, so frequent in those western isles, even to this day, and generally sup-
 posed to be one of the remains of the *Druidical* superstitions, or no; what fol-
 lows in the same tract, will scarce allow us to doubt of the *Druids* presiding in
 those islands; where their favourite doctrine of the transmigration of souls was ge-
 nerally received. “ For they held, that the *Genii*, if they did not discharge their
 “ duty carefully, were thrust again into human bodies; and *Saturn*, as well as
 “ those with him, were of the best kind of *Genii*, and said of themselves, that
 “ they had been in ancient times, in *Crete*, the *Idæi Daëtyli* (or *Curetes*) in *Phry-*
 “ *gia*, the *Cerybantes*; and in *Lebadia* of *Bæotia*, the *Trophoniadæ*; and of other
 “ the like religious institutions throughout the world, whose rites and mysteries
 “ still subsisted.” The institutions here mentioned were of the same kind as that
 of the *Druids*, but this relation being given by these *Druids*, who were probably
 the Barbarians abovementioned, it is perhaps for this reason, that they did not
 mention themselves. Such was the situation of the *Hyperborean* island; agreeable
 to that which the author of the ancient commentary upon *Horace* assigns to the
Fortunate Islands, the abode of just and devout men, and the seat of the *Elysian*
Fields, and departed souls; which *Tzetzes*, in his notes on *Lycophron*, places among
 the *British* isles, between the west of *Britain* and *Thule*².

As for the genius, customs, and manners of the *Hyperborei*, who inhabited it,
 all antiquity agrees in representing them, as an harmless, innocent, religious and
 happy people³; living a simple life, according to nature, on the fruits of trees and
 of the ground; temperate, scarce subject to any disease, very long lived, and vigo-
 rous even to the last of their days; which is well known to be the case of the in-
 habitants of the *Hebrides*, even in this age; though the different manner of life,
 introduced among them of late, hath made them fall off from their ancient⁴ lon-
 gevity, and from that strength and vigour of body, which was remarkable in them
 sixty years ago. They lived in woods and groves, devoting the chief of their
 time to the worship of their deities; peaceable in their nature, and as *Pherenicus*
 and others say, troubled with no quarrels, infested with no wars; a circumstance

¹ Thirty years made an age in the *Druids* com-
 putation, and was their longest measure of time.
Plin. l. xvi. c. 44.

² See *Camden’s Britannia* in the lesser *British*
Islands. The fabulous relation there added about
 the wafting over of departed souls into one of these
 islands may refer to something formerly usual and
 credited in those isles, as the corpse or sepulchral

lights seen a little before the death of people in
Wales, and the second sight in the *Hebrides*, are
 in those parts; which, unaccountable as they ap-
 pear, are yet too well attested, by an infinite number
 of facts, to admit of any dispute.

³ *Not. in Pindar. Olymp.* iii. and *Pyth.* x.

⁴ *Martin’s Voyage to St. Kilda*, p. 71.

which

which does not agree to the *Hyperborei* or *Scythians* on the continent; but which *Diodorus* tells us, was the peculiar happiness of *Britain* in general, and must be more particularly so, of these remote isles of the *Hebrides*.

Of all the deities adored by the *Hyperboreans*, *Apollo* or the *Sun* was the most distinguished by the honours they paid him; for which reason ¹ *Pindar* makes him after he had finished the walls of *Troy*, hasten away to the *Hyperboreans*, among other places where there were temples dedicated to his honour: And abundance of monuments of his worship, are still to be seen in those islands. The manner of it, as described by the ancients, deserves likewise notice: The harp, pipe, and flagellet, or whistle, (instruments unknown to the *Scythians*, who, as ² *Anacharsis* relates detested the use of all instrumental musick in religion) were employed in their worship of ³ *Apollo*; whilst choirs of young men and women, with garlands of laurels (a tree unknown in *Scandinavia* and *Russia*) decking their brows, and binding their hair, danced to the musick, and joined their voices to the harmony; singing the praises of their deity, and concluding the service with a common feast in his honour.

THE peace and innocence that reigned in these islands, and the happy manner of life led by the inhabitants, gave occasion to the ancients to form thence their notions of the *Elysian fields*, the habitation of deceased heroes, and the isles of the happy. Thus ⁴ *Homer* represents them, as seated in the utmost bounds of the earth, and fanned by *Zephyrs* or *Western breezes*, blowing from the ocean: in which he is followed by ⁵ *Hesiod*, ⁶ *Pindar*, *Eustathius*, and others, who place these isles either in or beyond the *Western ocean*, and consider them as the receptacle of the heroes of the *Theban* and *Trojan* times, who lived there in perfect quiet and security under the government of *Cronus* or *Saturn*; from whose supposed abode there the *Cronian* sea that washes them seems to be denominated. This poetical notion gave occasion to other authors to exercise their imagination likewise on the subject; to embellish it with their own fictions, and to confound what was supposed of the state of heroes after their death, with what was related of the happy condition of the inhabitants of the *Hyperborean* island. It was this which first gave the hint for forming that notion; as probably their being seated in the western, which the ancients deemed the lower part of the earth, and the *Druids*, or the people in general, deriving their descent from *Pluto*, might be the reason why the *Hades*, which *Homer* represents *Ulysses* as visiting, was placed in the same situation ⁷.

It is at least certain that this prince of poets, and father of geographers (in which last light *Strabo* considers him) says expressly, that it was in the farthest part of the western ocean, in an island inhabited by the *Cimmerii* (as the *British* isles were) ⁸ that *Ulysses* made that visit; and *Eustathius* upon the place observes, that the old *Scholia* interpret these *Cimmerii* to be a nation, not of *Asia*, but of *Europe*; who dwelt in the north west extremity of this last named part of the world upon the ocean; understanding magic and necromancy; and dealing in prophecies, according to the custom of their ancestors. These being arts, in which the *Druids*, whose *Viseum* distinguished the golden branch, without which as *Virgil* observes, no hero could be admitted into *Hades*, or be allowed to visit the *Elysian fields* ⁹, were very conversant and celebrated for their skill in them by all antiquity, there is little room left to doubt, but the *Cimmerii* were a nation, in which that order of men flourished: And we shall have reason to make the same

¹ *Olymp.* viii.
Sapientum.

Sic. l. ii. c. 91.

² *Hesiod.* *Oper.* & *Dies*, v. 163. & *Jeq.*

³ *Olymp.* *Ode* ii.

⁴ *Plutarch in convivio* vii.

⁵ *Pindar Pyth. Ode* x. *Diodor.*

⁶ *Odyss.* 8. v. 563. & *Jeq.*

⁷ The sea on the west of *Scotland*, was of old called the *Sea of Hell*. See *Hearne's Notes on W. Newbrigenfis*, p. 749.

⁸ *Odyss.* 2. v. 13. & *Jeq.*

⁹ In *Æneid.* vi. 5, & *Plato in Phædo.*

judgment, with regard to the *Hyperborei*, when we have considered the various points of knowledge, which distinguished those, who used to send their sacred embassadors and presents of first fruits to *Delos*.

It is a fact universally acknowledged, that philosophy was first professed and understood by the barbarous nations: And that the polite *Greeks* borrowed the greatest part of their knowledge, in most points of it, from those barbarians. ¹ *Diogenes Laertius* quotes *Aristotle* and *Strabo* for this fact, and among the most ancient and knowing of these instructors of the *Greeks* he reckons the *Magi* of *Persia*, the *Chaldei* of *Assyria*, the *Gymnosophists* of the *Indians*, and the *Druids* of the *Celtæ*. He is supported in this notion by *Plato*, *Pliny*, *Clemens*, and *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, *Celsus*, *Origen*, and the agreeing opinion of the most learned authors, who have wrote expressly on the subject. The *Druids* were as ancient as any of the other sects, and as much celebrated for their knowledge; their chief seat was in these *British* isles; thither every body went from *Gaul* and *Germany*, as well to learn the sciences, as to be instructed in their discipline: And there they not only understood them best, but (as *Cæsar* tells us) their institution itself was originally formed. It is from them, in all probability, that the *Greeks* received several of their usages in the worship of their deities, and some of their most important doctrines, as well with regard to religion, as to the sciences, which had ever been the subject of the *Druids* studies. Whatever they entertained of these, antecedent to the travels of *Thales* and *Pythagoras*, and their other sages to *Egypt* and *Babylon*, (with the last of which they had no correspondence, till after *Cyrus* had reduced the *Lesser Asia*,) must naturally be ascribed to the *Druids*: And yet, though it is so generally owned, that they did actually communicate various points of their philosophical discoveries and religious principles to the *Greeks*, there doth not appear in history any vestige of the manner wherein they did it, unless it was by the canal of the *Hyperborean embassies*.

THE commerce carried on in the *Mediterranean* sea, afforded the *Greeks* an easy correspondence with *Egypt*; but as in those early days, the *Phœnicians* had not extended their navigation beyond *Gades*, (for which reason the *Hyperborei* were deemed ² inaccessible,) there was no passing to *Britain*, but through a vast number of different *Celtic* nations, either in *Gaul*, or in *Germany*, of whose language the *Greeks*, the *Asiatic Hyperborei*, and the true *Scythians* were entirely ignorant. This language was the *Celtic*; which being spoke from the extremity of *Britain*, to the further end of *Illyricum*, on the confines of *Greece*, rendered the passage thither practicable to the *Hyperborei*, or inhabitants of the *Western isles*; who having the same common original with the other *Celtæ*, and speaking the same tongue, so as to understand each other, notwithstanding the diversity of its dialects, found little difficulty in travelling through countries, where hospitality was exercised in the highest degree; where the laws provided more carefully for the security of strangers, than of the natives themselves; and the persons of travellers were reputed sacred.

IN the account given of the *Hyperborean island* by *Hecateus*, and *Diodorus*, it appears that the inhabitants thereof, used the harp, the pipe, and the whistle, (or *fistula*,) in consort with the vocal music of choirs of virgins dancing, in their worship of *Apollo*, to whom they were particularly devoted; and we find the very same instruments used at *Delos*, in the sacred rites observed in honour of that deity; whose statue, there erected, bore in its left-hand the three ³ *Graces*; each holding a musical instrument, the first an harp, the third a pipe, and the second, which stood in the middle, a *fistula* in her mouth. None of the *Scythians*, (as hath

¹ *Proem. init.*

² *Pind. Pyth. Od. x. & in not. ib.*

³ *Plut. de musica.*

been observed) would admit of any musical instrument in divine worship; and though the *Thracians* used the harp, and the *Phrygians* the pipe, being people either originally *Celtic*, or incorporated with them, yet I do not find that either of these used all the above-mentioned instruments. It is the more likely that the *Delians* borrowed them from the *Hyperboreans*, who sent their offerings to *Delos*, accompanied with harps, pipes and whistles; because they certainly derived from them the offering of cakes, wheat, barley, and other first fruits of the ground and trees; the *Hyperboreans* being the first that ever offered them at *Delos*, (as ¹ *Callimachus* assures us,) and *Opis* and *Hecæрге*, the first of the *Hyperborean* virgins that brought them thither. They had there also an unbloody altar, the most ancient of any they had, for the receiving of such oblations; which, for that reason, was frequented by *Pythagoras*, and was called *Βωπές Ὀσεῶν*, *Ara piorum* ², describing the *Hyperboreans* by that title. This must appear still more probable, when we consider that the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos* derived likewise from them the greatest of its prerogatives, and that which contributed most to its being ³ frequented, and applied to by all the neighbouring nations. For ⁴ *Pausanias* quoting an ancient hymn, composed for the *Delphians* by *Bico*, a native of the country, assures us, that the famous oracle of that place was set up and perfected by *Pagafus* and *Agyeus*, who came thither from the *Hyperboreans*; as the temple itself was afterwards saved from the fury of *Brennus* and his army, by the spectres of two other *Hyperboreans* ⁵, *Hypercebus* and *Amadocus*.

HOWEVER surprizing this may appear, it is yet less extraordinary than the doctrines which these *Hyperboreans* first brought into *Greece*, and published at *Delos*; doctrines which inspired a wonderful veneration for the place, even into the minds of barbarians, and proved the security of the inhabitants, as well as of the temple, on two remarkable occasions. In the year of the battle of *Marathon* ⁶, the *Persians*, with a fleet of six hundred galleys, wasted the isles of the *Ægean* sea, burning the temples of the gods, and carrying away the inhabitants into captivity. The *Delians* fled on this occasion, for fear of the like calamity; till *Datis*, commander of the *Persian* fleet, sent them word, that they had nothing to fear, either for themselves, or their temple; it being his own inclination to protect both as sacred; and he had express orders for that purpose from his master *Darius Hytaspis*. The *Delians* accordingly returned home; and *Datis*, not suffering his fleet to put into *Delos*, landed himself on the island, and offered three hundred pounds of frankincense upon the altar, appointed for such oblations; which (as is above-related) was the unbloody altar of the *Hyperboreans*. When *Xerxes* afterwards invaded *Greece*, he took the like care of the temple and people of *Delos*; sending *Gobryas* thither, a prince of the royal blood of *Persia*, whose family succeeded ⁷ hereditarily to the order and dignity of the *Magi*, to take care of the island, and secure the inhabitants, as well as the temple, from all insults and depredations. The reason of this unusual care of the *Persian* monarchs, in the height of their resentment and rage against the *Greeks*; is related by ⁸ *Plato* or *Æschines*, both of them disciples of *Socrates*, from the mouth of another *Gobryas*, grandson to the former, of the same order of *Magi*, as his ancestor, and a man of very great learning.

It was this last *Gobryas*, who assured the author of *Axiarchus*, that it was owing to the doctrines of the *Hyperboreans*, brought by *Opis* and *Hecæργus* to *Delos*,

¹ *Callim. Hymn. in Delum*, v. 283.—295, & not. *Spanheim. tom. ii. p. 495. Clem. Alexand. Strom. vii. p. 717. Porphy. de abstin. l. ii. p. 172.*

² There is the less reason to wonder at the high opinion entertained of the *Hyperboreans* by the *Delians*, because it will soon appear, that they de-

rived their own religion from them, and that the *Hyperborei* were the founders of the temple of *Delos*.

³ *Hem. Hymn. in Apollin.*

⁴ *p. 320, 321.*

⁵ *Ib. in Attic.*

⁶ *l. vi. n. 98.*

⁷ *Diog. Laert. Opera, T. iii. p. 371. in Axiarcho.*

⁸ *In Phocic.*

⁹ *Herodot.*

¹⁰ *Platonis*

engraved in tables of brass, and preserved in the temple there; that the place was treated with so much respect and reverence by the *Persians*. The principal of these doctrines were, “ That the earth was seated in the middle of the world, and that the heavens were globular; that the soul and body were of distinct natures, and when the union between them was dissolved, and they parted from each other, the soul went to an invisible place, but subterraneous, in which *Pluto’s* capacious palace was seated, environed by the rivers *Acheron* and *Cocytus*; that when souls had passed these, they were brought into the *fields of truth*, where there was no room for lying; before impartial judges, before *Minos* and *Rhadamanthus*, who interrogated them about their life, conversation, and studies, whilst in the body; that such as had followed the suggestions and guidance of their good genius, and had imitated the gods, were placed in the seats and abode of the pious; where they were entertained with plenty of every thing that was agreeable, schools of philosophers, theaters of poets, choirs of dancers, music and festivals, and never ending joy, and a life abounding with all manner of immortal delights; and that such as had lived in wickedness, were carried away by the furies through *Tartarus* to *Erebus* and *Chaos*, the seats destined for the impious and profligate, where they were punished for ever with all kind of torments.” Such was the account given by *Gobryas* of the doctrines of the *Hyperboreans*, plainly asserting those great truths of religion, the immortality of the soul, a future judgment, and the rewards and punishments of another life, in an age when they were not known to the *Greeks*, and long before the time of *Thales*, who is acknowledged to be the first of the philosophers that taught the immortality of the soul to his countrymen.

We may observe, that the images made use of by the *Hyperboreans* to represent the happy state of pious souls after their separation from the body, are drawn from subjects that were the principal parts of their delights, or the most solemn acts of their religious worship in this world; such as the finest fruits of every season, theaters of poets, choirs of dancers, music, banquets and festivals. To these is added in the relation, *schools of philosophers*, which, in that quarter of the world, could be no other than those of the *Druids*; as seems further hinted in what *Gobryas* adds immediately after, that the *Myseæ*, (or persons initiated into any institution) who were employed in sacrificing to the gods, had a *president* over them; on occasion whereof he exhorts the person, with whom he held this discourse, *to aspire to that honour*, since he derived *his descent from the gods*, as *Plato* did from *Neptune*, if not from *Hercules*, who before his descent into *Hades*, had been initiated into the *Eleusinian* mysteries¹. The author of the *Dialogue* concluding the relation here given, applies himself to *Axiochus* in the following words: “ These things I heard from *Gobryas*; and I am fully of opinion, that the soul of man is immortal, and when it goes from hence, lives in another place, whether it be above or below the earth, free from all pain and trouble; take care therefore to live piously, that, when life is thus passed, you may attain to happiness.”

The doctrine of the transmigration of souls hath been already mentioned, and what hath been quoted in the last passage about the position of the earth, and the spherical form of the world, shews us that the *Hyperboreans* had some skill in astronomy; and their knowledge in that science must, in the early ages before *Hercules*, far surpass that of any other nation, since they had long kept a solemn festival every nineteen years to commemorate the discovery of that famous *Cycle*,

¹ It appears from *Plato’s Phædo*, that the ancients thought it necessary to be initiated into some mysteries, or admitted into some order of priests that had the care of them, before they could pass

into *Hades*, and be received into the society of the gods, with whom they seem to imagine none could be admitted to dwell, who were not philosophers, or thus initiated.

which

which some ages after, was introduced among the *Greeks* by *Meton*. The like festival observed (as above-related) every thirtieth year in honour of *Saturn*, shews likewise, that they were well acquainted with the term of the revolution of that planet. But no point of knowledge distinguished the *Hyperboreans* more, than their talent for predictions; which enabled them to set up the oracle of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, and perhaps at some other places in the *Greek* states and colonies. Of their country, and of *Gaulic* or *Celtic* original, perhaps of the order of *Druids*, (since none else among the *Celtic* nations could offer sacrifices) were the founders of two cities in different parts of the world, famous above others (as *Cicero* says) for the arts of divination¹. Such were the *Galeotæ* of *Sicily*, and the *Telmeffians* of *Caria* or *Lycia*: The former of these were a tribe, derived from *Galeus*, the son of *Apollo*, and *Themistes*, daughter to *Zabius*, prince of the *Hyperboræi*, who foretold that the tyrant *Dionysius* should come to reign as a monarch; and passed for great prophets in *Sicily*, their reputation being so generally established, that *Archippus* and *Hesychius* say, they were reputed the wisest and most sagacious of all prophets and diviners. *Telmeffus*² was likewise an *Hyperborean*; and coming from his own country with *Galeus* to *Dodona*, they were ordered by the oracle to go the one towards the east, the other westward, and to build altars in places where an eagle should carry off the entrails of their sacrifices; as they did accordingly, the one near *Hybla* in *Sicily*, the other at *Telmeffus*³ in *Caria*. *Abaris*, who built a temple in *Greece*⁴, was very famous for all the arts of divination, whether by the entrails of beasts, the flight of birds, the interpretation of dreams, or otherwise: And his oracles foretelling plagues, earthquakes, and many things in the heavens, were in great request among the *Greeks*, who collected them together in volumes, which were preserved to the time of *Apollonius*. *Porphyry* and *Jamblichus*⁵ mention a dispute on the subject of divination, between *Phalaris*, who rejected it entirely, and *Abaris*, who maintained, that men might, by the strength of their own reason and knowledge, discover wars, diseases, plagues, earthquakes, and other general calamities; and that it was practicable upon certain observations to predict them; because they were ordered by the gods, and there was, undoubtedly, a *divine providence*.

IN such general calamities, recourse was had to extraordinary methods of atoning for the sins of the people, and appeasing the wrath of the incensed deities: But these being understood by few in *Greece*, the people of *Cnossus* in *Crete* applied for assistance to *Abaris*, who being a priest of *Apollo*, was well versed in all the methods of lustration and purgation used among the *Hyperboreans*. He exercised his skill to their great benefit, as they supposed; and did the same at *Sparta*⁶ with so good success, that all *Greece* was persuaded it was owing to his purgations, that the *Lacedæmonians* were never after infested with any plague, but seemed secure for ever against the like pestilential distempers.

THE arts of (what was by the ancients called) *Magic* had so close a connexion with those of divination, and such a dependance upon a knowledge of the hidden powers of nature, and of the secret virtues or uncommon effects of natural things, that there is little occasion to take notice of any particular skill ascribed to *Abaris*, either in that respect or in natural philosophy. It is more material to observe, that the points here mentioned as known to the *Hyperboreans*, and by which they were eminently distinguished, whether with regard to the doctrines of the immortality

¹ *Strophaneus* in v. Γαλιώται. *Cic. de Divinat.* l. i.

² A *Celtic* name, scarce differing from that of *Talmesche*, which the earls of *Dyfert*, and many in *Scotland* now bear.

³ *Driftander*, the soothsayer and diviner of *A-*

Alexander the Great was of this city. *Plutarch. in vita Alex. M. initio.*

⁴ *Pausanias* in *Lacon.* *Suidas* in v. Ἀβάρης. *Apollon. Hist. Græc. c. 4.* *Firmic. de err. profan. Rel.*

⁵ *Vita Pythag. c. 32.*

⁶ *Apollon.*

c. 4. *Hist. Admirand.*

and transmigration of souls, a judgment after death, and the rewards and punishments of another life, or to the rites of expiation, the arts of prediction, augury and divination, to discoveries in the science of astronomy, as well as in physiology, and observations of natural causes and effects, were all of them the constant subjects of the studies, reflections, and instructions of the *Druids* in the *British* islands. This is a fact, which we learn from *Cæsar*, *Strabo*, *Diodorus*, *Pliny*, *Dio*, *Herodian*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and all who have wrote on the subject of the *Druids*; so unanimous a consent of authors leaves no room to dispute their testimony.

It must be observed further, that no Northern nation on the continent had, in those early ages, any notion or tincture, either of the doctrines, or sciences above mentioned; and what some are willing to imagine of the learning and theology of the *Goths*, is so far from having any just foundation, that ¹ *Procopius* gives us a very remarkable instance of their utter aversion to all learning, even in the sixth century, whilst they were masters of *Italy*. ² *Jernandes*, their most ancient historian, allows them to be utterly ignorant in those respects, till a few years before *Cæsar's* expedition into *Britain*; when *Sylla* being dictator at *Rome*, *Diceneus Bo-roisla* came into *Gothia*, and taught the princes and nobility all kinds of philosophy. He particularly mentions ethics, to mollify their barbarous manners, and engage them to live in conformity to the laws; astronomy, making them understand the bigness of the sun, the increase and decrease of the moon, the course of the planets, and the twelve signs of the zodiac, physiology, natural philosophy, and theology. These instructions caused him to be so much admired by all the nation, that he commanded even their princes; and choosing the noblest of their youth to instruct in divinity, he persuaded them to worship some deities, and to erect chapels in their honour, instituting an order of priests, called, from the dress of their head, *Pileati*, to take care of religion, and preside in matters of judicature. This being the case of the *Goths*, as well in *Sweden*, as upon the coasts of the *Baltic* in *Germany*, there is no colour of probability for supposing them to be the *Hyperborei*, celebrated by *Hecatæus*, *Pausanias*, and others of the ancients.

It remains still to examine into the antiquity, as well of the *Hyperborean* doctrines, as of their practise of sending sacred ambassadors into *Greece*, with offerings to the temples of *Apollo* and *Diana* in that country. *Abaris* seems to have been the last of those ambassadors, and was far advanced in years when he came into *Greece*, as ³ *Jamblicus* and *Porphyry* affirm; who, to do honour to the founder of their sect, make him converse with *Pythagoras* at *Crotona* and *Agrigentum* a little before the death of *Phalaris*; which happened, according to ⁴ *Dodwell*, in the 4th year of the 68th, but, according to ⁵ *Petavius*, in the 57th Olympiad. ⁶ Others say *Pythagoras* was a disciple of *Abaris*, whilst he was very young, and before he went into *Egypt*; which he did at the age of twenty two, making so long a stay, either there, or at *Babylon*, that, when he returned thence to *Samos*, he was near sixty, and compleatly so, when he settled at *Crotona* in *Italy*. *Eusebius*, in his *Chronicon*, places the voyage of this *Hyperborean* divine (as *Apollonius* calls him) into *Greece*, in the 54th Olympiad; herein agreeing with *Pindar* and others, who make him cotemporary with *Cræsus*. Some fix it to the twenty first; whilst others place it as high as the third Olympiad; particularly ⁷ *Hippostratus*, the first *Crotonian* disciple of *Pythagoras*; who could not well be ignorant of that philosopher's conversation with *Abaris*, if it happened after the former's settling at *Crotona*. In this diversity of opinions, that which being advanced by the latest of the

¹ *Histor. Goth.* l. i. p. 143.

² *De rebus Got.* c. 11.

³ *Vit. Pythag.* c. 19.

⁴ *De atat. Phalarid.* c. 28.

⁵ *Rationar. Temp.* p. i. l. ii. p. 100.

⁶ *Suidas* v.

Πυθαγόρας.

⁷ *Harpocration*, v. "Αἰαίς.

Pythagoreans, who wrote their master's life seven hundred years after his death, placeth the age of *Abaris* later than any of the other, doth yet make him elder than *Pythagoras*; so that it is more likely this ¹ author of the name of *Philosopher* in *Greece*, should receive the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, from *Abaris*, than that he should communicate it to such a contemplative and studious order and succession of men, as the *British Druids*, by the canal of that *Hyperborean* divine. This will appear so clear as scarce to admit of a dispute, if we consider that the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul is founded upon that of its immortality; and that *Thales*, the master of *Pythagoras*, was the first *Greek*, that ever taught the belief of the latter: And *Pythagoras* himself is extolled by his followers, as the first of the *Greeks*, that broached the former. And yet we have seen, that the doctrine of the immortality of the soul was taught many ages before their time by the sacred deputies of the *Hyperboreans*; who appear likewise from other accounts to have believed that of the transmigration.

THERE was a long interval of time between the voyage of *Abaris* into *Greece*, and the sending of the former ambassadors to *Delos*: during which the *Hyperboreans* transmitted their sacred offerings through the *Celtic* countries from one nation to another, till they arrived at *Apollo's* temple. That it was in very ancient times, when that custom of sending ambassadors first commenced, may very justly be concluded from the nature of their oblations: ² These being cakes, flower, and the first fruits of the ground and trees, the most ancient sacrifices of any, as they were also the first that offered ³ them; being for that reason called ⁴ *Oulophori* and *Amalophori*. The names of several of these sacred deputies of both sexes are preserved by the *Greek* authors: the women distinguished by the names of *Opis*, *Ecaerge*, *Argis*, *Arge*, *Achæa*, *Loxo*, *Hyperoche*, and *Laodice*, all names of *Diana* given to those her votaries to do them the greater honour; whilst the men were called *Pagafus*, *Agyeus*, *Erysiethon*, *Opis*, *Ecaergus*, *Amadochus*, *Laodochus*, and *Hyperochus*; names or titles belonging to *Apollo*. They were all celebrated in the hymns of the *Delians*, and in the songs of the inhabitants of the *Cyclades*; and it is to those hymns, several of them composed expressly to perpetuate their memory, that *Homer* alludes in his hymn to *Apollo*. ⁵ *Olen* the *Lycian*, the author of some of those hymns, was the first *Greek* poet that wrote in hexameter verse, and the first prophet of *Apollo*, that either sung himself, or instructed *Phæmonoi* the first prophets, to deliver the oracles in that measure, and he being older than *Homer*, who followed the example he had set him of writing in heroic verse, the *Hyperborean* embassies must be still more ancient. ⁶ *Dodwell* thinks that *Homer* flourished about the 23d Olympiad, (which agrees very well with the relations of those who make *Abaris* acquainted with *Stesichorus* the son of *Hesiod*) and brings very good reasons to support his opinion. But allowing him to be full as ancient as the author of his life, printed at the end of *Herodotus*, represents him, and to be born 168 years after the *Trojan* war, the *Hyperborean* embassies were yet more ancient than that war, and prior even to the building of *Thebes* by *Cadmus*. It was in times antecedent to those events, that ⁷ *Homer* says the oracle of *Delphi* was founded; and ⁸ *Pausanias* assures us, it was founded by *Pagafus* and *Agyeus*,

¹ *Shuckford* maintains, that *Pythagoras* did not pretend to deliver any doctrine of his own to his disciples, but only such ancient opinions as he had gathered from others, and these he communicated to them in the same manner as he had received them from his authors. *Sacred and profane history connected*, vol. i. p. 52, 53.

² *Dr. Taylor's Diss. on the Marmor. Sarcophagæ. Servius ad Æn. xi. § 858. Plin. l. xxxi. c. 41.*

Porphyr. de abstinent. l. iii. p. 65. Herodot. l. iv. n. 32.

³ *Callim. Hymn. in Delum, v. 290.*

⁴ *Eustath. ad Iliad. § 1220. Athenæus l. xiv. p. 618.*

⁵ *Pausan. in Phœciæ. p. 320. De Cyclis veterum. Dissert. v. Hymn. in Apollin. § 225.*

⁶ *In Phœciæ. p. 320.*

two of the *Hyperborean* deputies; this being perhaps the reason why *Apollo Pythius* was called *Apollo Hyperboreus*¹. It is very probable that these were not the first deputies sent by the *Hyperboreans* into *Greece*, because it appears from the last quoted hymn, that there was a temple of *Apollo*, and a grove sacred to *Diana* at *Delos* before there was any oracle at *Delphi*; which yet was very famous at the time of the *Trojan* war². Those places at *Delos*, dedicated to the worship of *Apollo* and *Diana*, seem to have been erected or founded by *Opis* and *Arge* or *Ecaerge*, the first of the *Hyperborean* virgins that came to *Delos*; for this I take to be the meaning of what³ *Herodotus* relates of the *Delians*, affirming that those two virgins came thither with the gods themselves; and this must be in very ancient times, since *Orion*, a disciple of *Atlas*, was killed by *Diana* for offering violence to *Opis*⁴. In this case it will not appear strange that *Latona* should be deemed a native of the *Hyperborean* island; that the *Hyperboreans* should be called by⁵ *Callimachus* the *Nurses* or foster parents of *Apollo* and *Diana*; that such extraordinary honours should be paid from time to time in all ages by the *Delians* and *Ionians* to those two virgins and their shrines; or that there should be such a perfect resemblance in their choirs, music, assemblies, festivals, and other rites of worship, between the *Delians* and *Hyperboreans*.

It is very likely that *Opis* and *Ecaergus*, whose names agree so exactly with those of the two first virgins, that there is no difference, except in the termination necessary to distinguish the sexes (as in the case of the names of *Laodice* and *Laodicus*, *Hyperoché* and *Hyperochus*, imposed on others of those sacred deputies) came along with *Opis* and *Ecaerge* in the first expedition or embassy of the *Hyperboreans* to *Delos*. Thus it appears that those important doctrines of the immortality of the soul, a future judgment, the rewards and punishments of another life, were published in *Greece* by the *Hyperboreans* before the time of *Cadmus*. It was probably from them, that what we see in *Homer's* works, favouring of those doctrines, was derived; and from some knowledge or tradition of their being of the *Cimmerian* or *Celtic* race, that he placed his *Hades*, the receptacle of the deceased heroes whom *Ulysses* visited, among the *Cimmerii* in these *Western* or *British* islands. The same deputies were the persons who first discovered to the *Greeks*, the spherical form of the globe, and the position of the earth in the centre of the world. So early had the *Hyperboreans* made discoveries in astronomy and mathematics; sciences, of which the *Greeks* were utterly ignorant till after the times of *Thales*⁶.

THE religious doctrines here mentioned are confessedly those of the *Druids*; the points of science and knowledge, above related, can be ascribed to none in all the northern or western parts of the world, but to that order of divines, whose chief seat was in the *British* isles; where to this day there are places bearing the name of the *Druids*, and which were once their habitation; as memorials also of their studies are preserved in some elevated situations proper for observations, still called the *astronomers' abodes*, and the *astronomers' stones* or *circle*. Whoever likewise considers, what is said before touching the situation of the *Hyperborei*, will find it impracticable to place their island in any other quarter of the world, than where that, which, after the *Phœnician's* commerce hither, was known to the *Greeks* by the

¹ So *Ælian*, l. ii. says he was called.

² *Homer's Iliad*, l. x. v. 405.

³ *Herodotus*, l. iv. n. 32.

⁴ *Apollodorus de Deorum origine*, c. i.

⁵ *Hymn. in Del.*

⁶ Mr. *Peterson* undertook to prove, that the

Greeks derived what they called the sphere of the Barbarians from the *Celts*: And not seeing how this can be proved any other way, than by supposing the *Hyperborei* to be *Celts*; I conclude it to have been his opinion.

^a *Prof. de l'Antiquité du Celte.*

name of *Great Britain*, is seated; and more particularly in the north west parts thereof, in those remote isles, which afforded the *Druids* all the retirement and quiet they could desire, called the *Hebrides*.

THE *Hyperborei* had for a long time laid aside their custom of sending sacred embassadors to *Delos*; when *Greece* increasing daily in reputation for learning, they thought it proper to send a person thither, to discover what improvements had been made in knowledge, and to renew their ancient correspondence. It required a man of dignity, experience, prudence, judgment, and skill in various sciences, to answer the ends of such an embassy: No other was qualified to converse with the sages of *Greece*, to sound the depths, and draw from them the secrets of their knowledge; no other was fit to represent such a body of men as the *Druids*. They accordingly, for this purpose, made choice of *Abaris*, whose character is so very amiable, that it is no wonder the author of *Mona Antiqua*¹ is willing to adopt him for his countryman; fancying his true name in *Welsh* to be *Ap-rees*². But I think it more agreeable to the manner of the *Greeks*, in imposing names on strangers, to derive it from *Ebris* or *Abris*; which may as well denote a native of the *Hebrides*³, as *Arcas*, an inhabitant of *Arcadia*, *Tros*, a *Trojan*, or *Corybas* and *Suffes*, one of the *Corybantes* and *Suffetes*.

HE was certainly a man that did honour to his country, and worthy of a contention, like that of the *Greek* cities, about the birth of *Homer*. *Porphyry*⁴ and *Jamblicus* say, that he was a priest of *Apollo*; that he came to *Athens* and *Delos*; travelled over all *Greece*; and then passed to *Crotona* in *Italy*, to visit *Pythagoras*, with whom he staid a considerable time, and contracted an intimate friendship. This celebrated philosopher, so cautious in all other cases of communicating his knowledge to people, till after several years experience of their capacity, virtue, and prudence, is represented by them as having no reserve at all with regard to *Abaris*, imparting to him readily all his notions of nature and theology, and reasoning with him on the various subjects of his knowledge and learning. It is not unlikely, but *Abaris* might first unbosom himself to *Pythagoras*, the only infallible way of drawing out secrets of this kind from the most reserved; and might communicate to him some of the improvements made by the *Druids*, in the sciences to which they generally applied their studies; and perhaps those doctrines of the immortality and transmigration of souls, of which *Pythagoras* was so extremely fond, and was in *Greece* reputed to be the first author.

WHAT *Jamblicus* says of *Abaris's* presenting *Pythagoras* with the famous arrow, which *Apollo* had hid among the *Hyperboreans*, after he had killed the *Cyclops* with it, (in memory whereof the name of *Sagitta* was given to one of the constellations on the north of the *Zodiac*,) may possibly hint, that he communicated to him some astronomical observations and discoveries, with regard to the celipticity of the *Zodiac*, and the periodical motions of the sun, moon, and other celestial bodies, of which the *Greeks* were in those days generally ignorant; as the *Egyptians* too were, till the 64th *Olympiad*, when their country, being reduced by *Cambyfes*, they began to acquire some knowledge in those points from the *Babylonians*, whose astronomical observations had (according to *Berosus*) commenced in the time of *Nabonassar*. But this same arrow considered in another

¹ *Ib.* p. 76.

² It might as well be derived from *Barray*, the denomination of two or three of the *Western Isles*, of which he might probably be the lord, or from *Ab*^a, in *Earse*, a lord, and *Haris*, the name of the largest of those isles, or *Heires*, formerly the common name of the whole tract of those islands,

or from *Aber-is*, the confluence of a river, whence seats of gentlemen were of old denominated.

³ עבריה *Abari*, (*finis*, i. e.) the ends of the earth, as used in *Psalms*, ii. 8. and xxii. 8. and lix. 14. whence *Bochart*, in his *Phaleg*, says, the *Phœnicians* gave the name of *Iberia* to *Spain*.

⁴ *In vita Pythagoræ.*

^a *Lloyd's Irish Dict. in Archæol. Brit.*

light, and employed to a different purpose, had also a different signification. For the *Greeks* not able to conceive how it was possible for *Abaris* to pass through so many different nations, as dwelt between *Greece* and the *British isles*, which at that time, not having been visited by the *Phœnicians*, were deemed inaccessible; it was a common report among them, that he had been carried through the air over sea and land, mounted upon this celebrated arrow¹. Some even of the learned *Greeks*, particularly *Herodotus* took this literally; whereas it was only a mythological way of describing the force of *Abaris's* eloquence and talents of persuasion, which procured him a friendly reception, and an easy passage through those various nations, all of them *Celtic*, and speaking his native language. In this case, *Himerius*² tells us expressly, that *Apollo's* arrow was *eloquence*; the very same accomplishment which occasioned *Mercury's* being represented *winged*³.

STRABO tells us, that *Abaris* was much admired by the *Greeks* for his politeness, justice, and integrity; and notwithstanding the disadvantages of the times wherein he lived, it may still be said, that, considering him in all respects, few ages have furnished a compleater character. “He came to *Athens* not clad in skins like a *Scythian*, but with a bow in his hand, a quiver hanging on his shoulders, a plaid wrapped about his body, a gilded belt encircling his loins, and trowsers reaching from the waist down to the soles of his feet.” Thus is it that *Himerius*⁴ describes his dress, which sufficiently shews his country; it being to this day, in all respects, (except as to the weapons, in which the invention of gunpowder hath altered the fashion,) the very habit of the *Highlanders* of *Scotland*. “He was easy in his address; agreeable in his conversation; active in the dispatch, and secret in the management of great affairs; quick in judging of present occurrences; and ready to take his party in any sudden emergency; provident withal in guarding against futurity; diligent in the quest of wisdom; fond of friendship; trusting very little to fortune, yet having the entire confidence of others, and trusted with every thing for his prudence.” What is still more amazing, and shews a wonderful genius; for otherwise it is not to be conceived how a stranger should, in the short time of his travels, before he came to *Athens*, make himself so great a master of the most improved language upon earth, as to speak it with facility and elegance, is, that when he opened his lips, persuasion dwelt upon his tongue; and the same author assures us, “He spake *Greek* with a fluency, that you would have thought he had been bred up in the *Lyceum*, and had conversed all his life with the *academy* of *Athens*.” Such was *Abaris*! such our *Highlander*! and such our *Druid*! Can courts form a finer gentleman? Can *Greece* or *Rome* boast of producing a man in all respects more extraordinary?

THE rest of the *Druids*, though all men of quality like *Abaris*, bred under the same discipline, inured to the same way of living, confirmed by habit, as well as instruction, in the same moderation as to their diet, command of their natural appetites, candour of mind, and simplicity of manners, cannot yet be supposed to equal him either in the strength of his genius, knowledge of the world, solidity of judgment, wisdom of conduct, or extensiveness of knowledge, by which he was so eminently distinguished: It is reasonable, however, to conclude from the very nature of the thing, that a body of such men, under such an institution, continually employed in the search of knowledge, the constant subject of their reflections, discourses, and instructions; and communicating their discoveries from age to age, without any interruption to their successors, must have made great

¹ *Celsus* thought this designed only to represent the swiftness of *Abaris's* motions in his travels, as equal to that of an arrow. *Orig. c. Cels. l. iii. n. 31.*

² *Ap. Photii Bibl. p. 1131. Eloquentia telum est Apollinis.*

³ *Mercurius Decorum Nun-*

tius, gestat talaria alata, iisque per aera fertur, sicut testatur Homerus eo loc. ubi inquit ἄνθρωπος αἰετός, i. e. verba alata. Phurnut. de Nat. Deor. c. 16. de Mercurio.

⁴ *Orat. apud Photium in Biblioth. p. 1135.*

improvements in physic, astronomy, mathematics, physiology, and other sciences, to which their studies and conversations were chiefly directed. They were a regularly constituted body subject to certain rules, and united under one ¹ head; to whose authority all the rest were subject and paid a ready obedience, in all matters, relating to their discipline, or submitted to their cognisance.

Of the chief *Druids*, and the distinctions in the order. XII. IT was near the seats of the chief *Druids*, as well in *Gaule* as *Britain*, that the general councils of those nations respectively were ordinarily held once a year, at a stated time, when they assembled in the consecrated groves adjoining to those habitations. Thither also, at the same time, resorted all persons concerned in causes, either left undecided by the ordinary *Druids*, who administered justice in the provinces, by reason of their difficulty and importance, or not determined to the satisfaction of the parties, for a final sentence to be pronounced by the *Head Druid*, assisted by his brethren assembled in council. There is to be seen at this day, in *Anglesey*, the round *cirque*, or consistory, wherein they sat, still known by its ancient name ² *Bryn-gwyn*, or *Brein-gwyn*, signifying, in the language of the country, a *supreme* or *royal tribunal*. There was likewise the great seminary, for the education of such the *Druid's* children, as were capable of being formed to their discipline; and of the sons of princes, and the chief nobility, that were desirous of entering into it, all brought up under the eye of the *chief Druid*, and the immediate care of the presidents, and other *Druids* appointed for their instruction in the colleges or conventual societies there established. There are several places in *England*, which from the resemblance of their names to that of *Drue*, may be thought to have served for the residence of *Druids*; but perhaps only of those ordinary ones, who were judges in provinces. *Stanton Drue*, near *Pensford* in *Somersetshire*, where a Druidical temple, called the *Weddings*, is still to be seen, seems the likeliest of any to have been a seminary; but it will not be unreasonable to suppose it to have been an institution of the *Belgæ*, after their settlement in that part of *Britain*, and when they came to be embarked in wars with the old natives. I form the like notion of *Stone-benge*, and suppose it to have been erected by the *Belgic Britains*, to serve for the chief place of their religious worship, and civil judicature, and for the holding of the general councils or assemblies of all their colonies, which usually met in temples ³. It was very conveniently seated for that purpose in the centre of those colonies; it is the only *British* temple, in which there is any chizzelling or workmanship about the stones, and therefore the latest of their building. I am apt to think it was erected by *Divitiacus*, in whose time architecture was very well understood in *Gaule*, as appears by the magnificence of the *Gallic* cities and buildings; particularly of that stupendous temple in *Auvergne*, the ruin whereof was so much lamented by ⁴ *Gregory of Tours*, which perhaps had an ornament full as extraordinary as its structure, in the famous statue of ⁵ *Mercury*, which surpassed in greatness all other statues in the world, took up *Zenodorus* ten years time in making, and cost the *Arverni* infinite sums of money.

WHEN the *chief Druid*, from the superiority and singularity of his dignity, called, by way of excellency, the *Drue* or *Druid*, died; he was presently succeeded in his office by another *Druid*, who, if the chief of the eldest line of *Phlo's* race, or perhaps, if a king, prince, or otherwise eminent above the rest in nobility, (for this seems to be the meaning of *Cæsar's* words ⁶, *excellit dignitate*,) was of course invested with that dignity. But if there were several equally qualified in

¹ *His omnibus unus præest. Cæs. l. vi. benge described, c. 3. p. 17. c. 12. p. 69.*
⁶ *De Bell. Gall. l. vi.*

² *Mona Antiq. p. 89.*

⁴ *L. i. n. 32.*

¹ *Dr. Stukeley's Stone-*

³ *Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xxxiv. c. 7.*

this respect, the succession was in such case determined by the votes of the *Druids*, who were sometimes so divided in these elections, that war and bloodshed concluded the contest. Disputes could not well be avoided on such occasions in a numerous body, as (*Cæsar* says) the *Druids* were; and it was probably their number, which rendering it necessary to observe a method in the distribution of the exercise of their functions, gave occasion to *Strabo*¹, *Diodorus*², and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, to distinguish them into the three orders or classes of *Druids*, *Vates*, otherwise called *Eubages* or *Sarronides*, and *Bards*, assigning to these last, the singing of the valiant actions of illustrious men in heroic verse to their harps; to the second, the offering of sacrifices, the practice of divinations, and lectures in physiology; and to the first, the study of moral, as well as natural philosophy and theology. But however proper it might be to distinguish persons with regard to their age and talents, and to allot them accordingly their several provinces; to the young men in whom imagination is lively, and memory in its highest perfection, that of composing, reciting, and singing heroic poems; to the elder, the ordinary care of religion, and the business of judicature; whilst the most distinguished in age and dignity employed themselves in the study of divine things, and in exercising their priestly functions only on weighty occasions, and the most solemn festivals, they seem still to have been all of one and the same order and discipline. *Cæsar*, who knew them best of any writer that hath mentioned them, and *Tacitus* consider them in this light, and speak of none but *Druids*; and though *Lucan* takes notice of the *Bardi* reciting verses in the praise of great men slain in war, yet he mentions the *Druids* singing likewise, and says not a word of the *Vates*. Nor do we ever find more than one order of men in any of the like institutions; such as the *Magi* in *Persia*, the *Curetes* in *Crete*, the *Corybantes* in *Phrygia*, and the *Cabiri* in *Samothrace*.

XIII. As to the people of *Britain*, *Cæsar* and *Tacitus* assure us, that they agreed in temper, manners, and customs with those of *Gaule*; but this is to be taken only in the general, and to be understood rather of the ancient inhabitants of *Gaule*, than of those that lived in *Cæsar's* time, when the *Britains* were what the *Gauls* had been formerly. These last had, by their neighbourhood to the *Romans*, and by a greater intercourse with other nations than fell to the share of the *Britains*, reformed several of their old, and introduced some new customs: And in such cases, the inhabitants of these islands will be found to agree more with the *Germans*, who being colonies likewise of the *Celtæ*, and resembling them in most things, did yet retain those customs of their ancestors, (and no other,) which had been in use before they removed from their mother country. They were much alike in the make of their persons, and remarkable for the tallness of their stature, the simplicity of their manners, the openness of their hearts, and the frankness of their temper. The same generous spirit of hospitality⁴ prevailed among them; their houses being ever open to all the world without distinction, and a sure protection to all strangers; whose persons were deemed sacred, and any violation thereof was punished in a severer manner, than in the case of a native. The *Gauls*, perhaps on account of the ravages committed by them in their expeditions into other countries, are charged by the *Greeks* and *Romans* with avarice; which I do not find imputed to the *Britains*: But both are accused of scandalous violations of chastity, and the latter of a promiscuous, and even of an incestuous, concubinage. But this may possibly be founded only upon a report of the *Belgæ*, with whom they

Of the manners and customs of the *Britains*.

¹ L. iv. ² L. v. ³ L. xiv. ⁴ *Nic Damasc. apud Stobæum. Serm. de leg. & consuet. Tacit de mor. German. Meli. l. iii. c. 3. Cæsar, l. vi.*

were at war, and upon a mistake arising from the custom of whole families lying together upon skins of beasts on the ground in the same room; they having no partitions or separate apartments in their houses. There is the greater reason to think this was really the case; because *Strabo*¹, one of the exactest and most valuable authors among the ancients, says no such thing of them; though he mentions this very charge as imputed to the *inhabitants of Ireland*; who, he adds, *are more savage than the Britains*: nor doth he credit it, even as to the *Irish*, for this very good reason; because he could not depend upon his informers.

THEY had two unhappy defects; which betrayed them into great inconveniencies, ²curiosity and ³credulity; being troublesome in their enquiries after other people's business; listening eagerly after news; taking every thing they heard, (however improbable or absurd) for granted; and spreading it with an hasty diligence, without either examining the truth, or considering the consequences, of the report. The mischiefs that arose hence were such, as obliged the wisest states in *Gaule* to provide by express laws, that no private person should ever talk of state affairs, nor offer to tell another any report he heard; and to order information to be given thereof to the magistrates, that they might publish what was fit to be known, and debate in council what measures were proper to be taken for the public quiet and safety. They were not fond of talking much in company; but in the few words they used, were apt to be too ⁴full of themselves; and their contempt of others disposed them to fall into a passion upon every trifling occasion. When once wrought up into a fit of wrath, or upon any sudden, though ill grounded report, they took hastily ⁵the rashest resolutions, and were impetuous as a whirlwind in their execution; but unstable as water, they quitted them, when they began to cool or found a difficulty in their way, with as much levity, as they had engaged in them with fury: acting even on other occasions, where they had leisure enough to think coolly, with the same ⁶inconstancy in their measures and variableness in their designs.

BOTH nations were naturally ingenious; ⁷quick in their apprehensions of things; easily instructed in any useful science; and formed as it were for eloquence; though, in point of docility and a genius for learning, ⁸*Diodorus* says the *Britains* had the advantage. They were both equally brave; had the same warlike disposition, and the same contempt of death; intrepid in the midst of the greatest dangers, and capable of attempting the most desperate enterprizes. Whether it was, out of magnanimity, like that of *Alexander's*, who would not steal a victory; or from an overweening opinion of their own strength and valour; a vanity to which they were extremely subject, and from which they had often suffered, being generally beaten by the military arts and skill, rather than the courage of the *Romans*; yet they were not to be cured of it by any experience; they obstinately resolved ⁹never to carry any thing in war, but by open force; and, glorying in that maxim, scorned to make use of any stratagem. It was common to them, with the *Thracians*, from a mixture of whose and the *Gomarian* blood they were descended, that their women, were as much distinguished for their courage as the men ¹⁰; accompanied them to the field; animated them to the combat; and often rushed themselves undaunted, though unarmed, into the midst of the battle, catching at the swords of the enemy: But it was peculiar to the *Celtic* nations not to march, move, or fight, without the advice of the women, to ¹¹constitute them

¹ Lib. iv. p. 202.² *Cæf.* l. iv. c. 1.³ Lib. 5.⁴ *Cæf.* l. i. c. 3. *De Bello Af-*⁵ *Martial*, l. v. *Epig.* 1. *Cæf.* l. vi. ⁶ *Diod.* l. v.⁷ *Strabo* l. iv.⁸ *Cæf.* l. iii. c. 2.⁹ *Cæf.* l. iv. c. 1. *Lam-**prid.* in *Severo*. *Treb. Pollio* in *Gallien*.¹⁰ *Diod.* l. v. *Cæf.* l. i. c. ult. *Plutarch* in *Maric*.¹¹ *Plutarch*, l. de *virtute mulierum*.¹² *Strabo*, l. iv. *Hier.* ad *Rustic.* *Juv.* *Sat.* 15.

judges of the contraventions of public treaties and the laws of nations ; to admit them to their councils of war ; and to consult them on the most important occasions of public concern.

LUXURY; the dishonour of human reason, the corrupter of virtue, and the bane of all states generally infected with it, was not so much as heard of in *Britain*, and it is remarked of the ¹*Gauls*, that they could no more bear to see a fat man, than the *Lacedæmonians* ; nor was any thing more scandalous among them than to be corpulent. Both people were content with a plain and simple diet, and were very temperate in the use of it : Some flesh meat, of which pork ² was their greatest dainty, but chiefly milk, apples, and bread, were their ordinary food ; though the *Gauls* regaled themselves also with ³cheese, which the *Britains* had not learned to make ; so little curious were they in point of eatables. They kept hens, geese, and hares for their amusement, but never eat them ; though ⁴*Pliny* speaks of a kind of geese in *Britain* that were the greatest dainty in nature, at least to the *Romans*. *Cæsar* doth not offer to guess at the reason of that abstinence ; but we learn from *Dio's* account of the insurrection of *Boadicea*, that the *Britains* made use of hares for *Divination* ; and they might perhaps employ hens and geese for the same purpose. The last named author observes of the *Caledonians*, that they would not eat fish, though they had an infinite plenty thereof in their country ; agreeing herein with the *Pythagoreans* : Though whether the rest of the *Britains* did the same, is not any where observed, nor is there any account of their using them in augury, as was practised in *Syria* and *Lycia*. ⁵*Pythagoras* bought a draught of fish, and then put them into the water to swim away : And his followers would never touch them on any account ; perhaps, because the most harmless of animals. *Homer* never speaks of the *Greeks*, not even of *Ulysses* in all his voyages, as eating fish. The *Egyptians* and *Syrians* thought it a point of holiness to abstain from them ; which might be owing to a general opinion prevailing among the ancients, that the ocean was the ⁶*habitation of the gods*, and consequently, every thing that lived there was sacred. There are still subsisting in the *Hebrides* monuments of the worship paid by the *Britains* in those isles to the ocean : And the abstaining from fish was a natural consequence of that superstitious veneration. There was no wine in these countries ; water was the ordinary drink of the *Britains* : But when any occasion called upon them to indulge a little, they had some of a stronger kind, drawn from barley, apples, and honey, to raise their spirits. They were not addicted to excess ; but if in a flow of good humour, and giving a loose to mirth, they chanced to go insensibly beyond the bounds to which cheerfulness may reasonably be carried, they were too apt to adopt the *Thracian* custom, and ⁷quarrel in their liquor : The *Britains*, however, were so habitually regular and temperate, that ⁸*Plutarch* says, they only began to grow old at an hundred and twenty,

THEY wore the hair of their head very long ⁹ and spreading ; but kept their beard close shaved, except on the upper lip ; where, perhaps imagining that whiskers looked terrible, they let it grow to an inconvenient length ; so as to be, ¹⁰ especially at their meals, exceedingly troublesome. The hair of the *Gauls* was generally a bright red, or golden colour ; and they used art to make it more so ; thinking that colour best became warriors : And for a like reason they took pains to make it bushy, thick, and bristly ¹¹, like horse hair, not for ornament but terror. It was from the same motive that the *Britains*, who did not imitate them in that

¹ *Strabo*, l. iv. ² *Ib.* ³ *Cæsar*, l. vi. ⁴ *Diod.* l. v. ⁵ *De placitis Philosophicæ.*
⁶ *Nat. Hist.* l. xxxii. c. 2. ⁷ *Plutarch Sympos.* l. viii. ⁸ *Grævii Lett.* in *Hesiod.* c. 13. ⁹ *Plin.* l. iii. c. 20. *Lucan*, l. i. *Cæsar*, l. v. ¹⁰ *Diod.* l. v. ¹¹ *Clem. Alexand. Præd.* l. iii. c. 3.

practice, made use of woad ¹ to paint their bodies of a blue or purple colour, in order to appear more terrible to their enemies. This was a singularity, in which they differed from all the other *Celtæ*, whether in *Gaule* or *Germany*: And by the *Tyrian* colour which they affected, it seems to be derived from the *Phœnicians*, who frequented *Britain*. It must however be owned, that the *Pbrygians* were the first inventors of the purple dye; that ² *Epimenides*, one of the *Curetes*, who lived in *Solon's* time, and contrary to custom of his country, wore long hair, like the *Celtæ*, had also his body all marked with characters; that the ³ *Daci*, descendants of the *Gomarian Sacæ*, and the *Sarmatæ* their neighbours, had theirs too marked in the same manner; that the ⁴ *Thracians* thought it noble and honourable to be thus marked, and ignoble to be otherwise; and a colony of theirs is distinguished by the title of the painted ⁵ *Agathyrsi*. But if the *Gauls* had ever received this fashion, it is very certain they had left it off before any of their colonies settled in *Germany*: And in *Cæsar's* time, neither they, nor the *Belgæ* of the south parts of *Britain*, painted their bodies; so that the *Piæts* of the *British* soil, mentioned by the orator *Eumenius*, could be only the *Brigantes*, the *Iceni*, and other nations of the old *Britains*. The striped plaid, the belt about their loins, and trowsers of various colours, reaching from the waist to the ankles in the form of breeches with stockings, were common to them all; only the *Gauls* abounding in gold and silver, were more sumptuous in theirs, having their belts gilt or covered with silver, and ⁶ wearing generally chains of gold about their necks, and bracelets of the same metal about their arms; which the poverty of their *Britains* did not allow any of them, under the rank of kings and princes to do; the rest contenting themselves, with the single ornament of a ring on the middle finger. The *Gauls* had a like advantage, in the ⁷ largeness of their houses, over the *Britains*, whose cabbins were very mean, made up of reeds and wood, or of fods and hurdles: But the gentlemen of both countries agreed in choosing the same situations for their mansions, near rivers, for the conveniency of water, or on eminencies surrounded with woods, to be more in the way for their favourite diversion of hunting.

THE only finery, which the *Britains* seem to have affected, was, in respect of the chariots, which they used in war⁸, like the antient *Greek* heroes at the siege of *Troy*: And had them in great numbers; adorning them curiously with figures of carved work and painting. Whether it was the elegance of the workmanship, or the particular make of the *British* chariots, different probably from those used in *Gaule*, less liable to be overturned, or more easy to be stopped and wheeled about on the declivity of hills, and in passing through woods or narrow roads, that recommended them to the *Romans*; they were very desirous to be accommodated with them; and *Cicero* ⁹ advised *Trebatius*, who, being in *Cæsar's* first expedition into this island, had wrote him word there was no gold or silver to be got here, to bring back with him at least a *British* chariot. They were drawn generally by two horses; and besides the driver, carried a single warrior. ¹⁰ The kings, princes, and nobles of the *Britains* fought in them; surrounded by their servants, vassals, and dependants; and from thence darted their javelins against the enemy. The unusual noise of the wheels was apt to frighten the horses of the hostile cavalry; and the sharp scithes, stretched out from both sides of the wheels, to which they were fastened, and cutting every thing in two that came in their way, made a terrible havock in a body that was once put into disorder; so that ¹¹ *Frontinus*

¹ *Cæf.* l. v.*Plutarch in Solon.*⁴ *Herodot.* l. v. c. 6.*Stephan. de urb. v. Ἀγᾱθὺρσοι.**El.* xl. — *Diodor.* l. v. *Silius Ital.* l. iv.² *Laertes in vit. Epimenid.*¹ *Plin.* l. xxii. c. 1.⁵ *Virgil Æneid.* iv.⁶ *Propert.* l. iv.⁷ *Strabo.* l. iv.c. 6. — *Propert.* l. ii. *Eleg.* i. & l. iv. *El.* iii.⁹ *Epist.* l. vii.¹⁰ *Tacit. vita Agric.*¹¹ *De stratagem.* l. ii.

tells us, *Cæsar* was forced to make use of stakes or pallisades to stop their advancing in such exigencies. The clashing¹ of their arms, the hoarse dismal sound of their barbarous sort of trumpets, and the mighty shouts which the *Britains* constantly set up, the moment they were going to engage, served, in some instances, to answer the same purpose of terror. It was to animate one another, or to shew their own intrepidity, that they advanced towards the enemy, dancing, like the *Curtes* of old, and singing the valiant deeds of their ancestors. They charged with an² impetuosity that was scarce to be resisted; but if the enemy baffled them in their first onset, they were soon put into confusion, and could not recover themselves from their disorder; an effect of the want of discipline, not of courage. For they were undoubtedly fearless, perhaps fond of dangers, and despised death so much, as often to fight naked; the *Gauls* doing that out of a bravado, which the *Britains* were forced to submit to out of necessity.

THE *Gauls*, especially their cavalry and chieftains, affected a magnificence in their³ arms. They had coats of mail studded with nails, hooks, and rings, or plated with iron, and helmets of brass, adorned with plumes of feathers and sculptures of various kinds of birds and animals, frequently gilded: Though sometimes, instead of pompous, they made use of frightful appendages, such as the real horns of beasts standing prominent from their head-pieces, and figures representing the grinning or open-jaws of lions and tygers, and other furious creatures. The shields of their foot were very⁴ long, serving almost to cover their whole body; those of the horse were not so large or heavy, and generally decorated with carved or painted representations of some actions, specimens, or symbols of valour. Their swords were broad and long⁵, but without points, so that they were of little use in a close engagement; yet to serve them in such cases, they always had another which was shorter: Besides darts and javelins, they had likewise battle axes cutting both ways, and in fashion like an halbert.

THE *Britains* were not so well provided either with offensive or defensive weapons; they had indeed the broad⁶ sword without a point, as well as the shorter dagger, and such javelins and arrows as they used in their hunting; but the common people were ill provided in this respect, their darts being generally sticks of wood, burnt and sharpened at both ends, and a long staff⁷ edged towards the end with flint, or headed with a piece of copper, from four to five inches long, and half as much broad, which they used instead of halberts; these were their offensive weapons. A light round target, either made of wood, or generally of twigs interwoven together, covered with skins or leather, and studded with nails, was all they used for their defence; having neither coats of mail, nor helmets, as *Tacitus*⁸ assures us, in his account of the battle with *Caractacus*; where we see, likewise, that the *Britains* observed the *Gallic* custom of fighting in companies of each particular clan or nation by themselves, unmixed with any other.

In arts, wealth, and plenty of all things, the usual consequences of commerce, and a civilized manner of living, the *Gauls* had much the advantage of the *Britains*. All the trade of this island was carried on by the *Belgæ*, seated in the maritime provinces over-against *Gaule*, or by foreign merchants, who never came further within it, than those southern countries. The chief native commodities of the country were *tin*, with which *Cornwall* and *Devon*; and *cattle*, with which all parts of *Britain* abounded; besides⁹ lead, iron, corn, hides, ivory bridles, col-

¹ *Diod.* l. v.

² *L.* vi. & *passim*.

⁶ *Tacit. vit. Agric.*

⁷ *Nemius & Mona*

³ *Diod.* l. v.—*Plutarch in Mar. Parro de lingua Latin.* l. iv.

⁴ *Ping. Æneid* viii.—*Polyb.*

Antiqua, p. 89. where there is a description thereof, and in Mr. Bagford's letter before *Leland's collection*, vol. i.

⁸ *Tacit. Annal.* l. xii. n. 35.

l. iii.—*Liv.* l. xxxviii. ⁵ *A. Gell.* l. ix. c. 11.—*Polyb.* l. iii.—*Liv.* l. xxii.—*Dio.* l. xxxviii.

⁹ *Strabo*, l. iv.

lars, amber, and glass-vessels, baskets, with other small wares, and dogs of various kinds, for fighting as well as hunting. *Solinus* adds the jet stone, and *Mela*, gems and pearls; which though not of so clear and bright a colour as those of the *East-Indies*, served to adorn a corslet, which *Julius Cæsar*¹ presented to the temple of *Venus*, as an offering to the deity, from whom he was willing to derive his descent. These were exported to the mouths of the *Rhine*, the *Seine*, the *Loire*, and the *Garonne*; whence, in return, were brought salt, brazen work, and earthen wares; trade being then carried on by the exchange of commodities, rather than money, of which the *Britains* had very little, using, instead of it, to take brass and iron by weight, till the *Romans*, making them tributary, introduced the art of coining. They had no ships of burden fit for trade, and carrying merchandize, but only² small barks made of slight planks and osier, covered with hides and leather; till the *Roman* conquest brought them to a more social way of living, than they had known before, and shewed them the advantages of commerce.

BEFORE that time, the greatest part of *Britain* lay uncultivated, covered with woods full of marshes undrained, and heaths over-run with ling and bushes; the *Old Britains* not understanding husbandry, and finding land enough to feed their cattle, which were all their substance, without being under any necessity of making improvements. The *Belgic* colonies, when they came over hither, first began to till the ground, to build houses substantial enough to last for a considerable time, as well as contiguous to each other, and to live together in towns and villages; setting the others an example which they did not care to follow. The *Britains* still went on in their old way, living dispersed; the Gentlemen in the high grounds and woods, where they first fixed their mansions; and the common people in the lower situations, that afforded pasture for their cattle, which they drove from place to place, according to the season of the year, and the nature of the soil, keeping them in the marshy and wet countries in the summer, and removing to such as lay high, and were dryer during the winter. Thus *Westmoreland* and *Somersetshire*, being moist and morassy countries, served the *Brigantes* and *Dumnonii* for the summer pastures, as *Cumberland* and *Cornwall*, having a dryer soil, did for their winter: And Mr. *Baxter*³ assigns the like to the other considerable nations that inhabited this island, and who took the same method; which was in those days common enough in the world, and practised even by the *Romans*⁴ in *Calabria* and *Lucania*.

THIS keeping of cattle, whose milk was the principal part of their sustenance, was the sole employment of all the common people among the *Britains*, except such as were retainers to the Gentlemen, and lived upon their demesnes: Thus they led a life not unlike that of the ancient *Nomades*; and being obliged to frequent removes, they lived either like them under tents, which might easily be carried from one place to another, or else erected little cabbins of the branches of trees, daubed over with mud to cover them, for the time they stayed in any quarter of a country. Hence it came, that though numbers of them might be thus employed in the same quarter; they had no cities or towns, except such transitory ones as are described by *Strabo*⁵, who says that “woods served them instead of
“ cities; for cutting down a number of trees, they inclose a circle, and put up huts
“ in it for themselves, and stalls for their cattle to serve them for a little time.” These cabbins were only for a present shelter, whilst their cattle fed in a certain place, and not designed for a continual abode; there not being in such an unsettled manner of life, any encouragement to build houses proper for a fixed habitation. Nor is this uncomfortable way of living, to be imputed so much to an

¹ *Solin.* c. 53.² *Plin.* l. iv.³ *In Gloss. Antiq. Britan.*⁴ *Justin.* l. viii. c. 5.⁵ *L.* iv.

habit of idleness, which they might have contracted, as to an unavoidable necessity, resulting from the situation of things at that time in their part of this island. For divided as it was into an infinite number of small territories and petty principalities, and utterly destitute of all knowledge; though the common people were all free to employ themselves in what manner they pleased, (the very servants of the gentry being *ingenui*) ingenious in their nature, frugal by long habit, and might have been industrious on occasion, it was still impracticable for them to apply themselves to any other business before the *Romans* came over.

XIV. IT hath been already observed, that the form of government in *Britain*, Of their clans or tribes. was much like that in *Gaule*; where of the three orders of men, that composed the several states in it, the *Plebeians* had no manner of power, nor were admitted to any of the councils for ordering public affairs; the government resting entirely in the hands of the nobility and gentry of each state.

PLUTARCH and *Appian* say, there were in *Gaule* four hundred different *gentes* or nations, the smallest containing 50,000, the largest 200,000 men; but notwithstanding their numbers, they seem to be only so many tribes of people, like those into which all the northern nations of *Europe* and *Asia* were distributed. Of the same nature were the *Clans* of *Scotland*, and the *Septs* of *Ireland*; who planting and inhabiting considerable tracts of ground, the several territories thus possessed by them, and held under one chieftain, came, from the names of their respective superiors, to be called, in the first of those kingdoms, the countries of *Clan-Chattan*, *Clan-Donald*, and in the latter, the countries of *O Neal*, *O Farrel*, *O Connor*, &c. There were also in *Wales* the like denominations of territories¹. There are many particulars relating to the *Celtic* nations, which the ancient authors, who have wrote of them, do not sufficiently explain; and in such cases, the best light we can have, must be taken from the state and constitution of things as they appeared among such of the *Celtic* colonies, as were never subdued by the *Roman* arms, and remained several ages after their times unmixed with any other people; which was the case of *Ireland*, and the north of *Scotland*. There will be still less room to doubt of such accounts, as are thus drawn from countries that underwent no alteration in their constitution, if they appear to be both agreeable to the reason of things, and consistent with the authentic relations of those ancient writers. It is very reasonable to think, that when *colonies* (from a corruption of which word that of *Clan* is derived) passed into any country to people it, they settled in distinct tribes and families. This is a matter of fact warranted by the *Mosaic* account of the plantation of the world, and is agreeable to the uniform relations of the most ancient *Heathen* writers. Nor is it less reasonable to suppose, that upon each tribe or family's settling in a certain territory, the head of it, keeping what he saw fit for himself, allotted to the several branches distinct portions and dividends of land, which they were to cultivate and improve, and which thereby became their property, with some dependance however, or subordination to the *chief* of the family, who was naturally the judge to determine all disputes that might arise between the several proprietors. Such decisions multiplying as new cases arose, and serving for precedents to others, formed, in time, a body of common or customary law peculiar to each tribe; for before laws come to be fixed and established, different decisions are an unavoidable consequence of different judges, proceeding purely by the light of their own reason, and without the direction of any president; and families growing daily more numerous, those that were governed by different laws and usages, were considered as so many distinct nations called by

¹ *Mona Antiqua*, Sect. v. and x.

the Greeks *ἔθνη*, by the Romans *gentes*¹ or *civitates*. Such were the many *gentes* or nations in the army of the *Ordovices*, under the command of *Caractacus*², the leaders whereof went about their several *corps*, haranguing and encouraging their men; who, to shew their resolution, *bound themselves every one by oath, according to the religion of their country*, i. e. taking it with the rites and ceremonies used among their respective tribes in swearing.

SUCH probably were the nations of *Gaule*, which the above-named authors make to be no fewer than four hundred: But as these *Clans*, when the country grew too much crowded with numbers, and every one was tempted to encroach on his neighbour's territory, were too weak to defend themselves alone; they formed several unions with one another, under certain regulations. Such aggregate bodies, united under the same government by a *senate* or common council composed out of them all, were by the Romans termed *civitates* and *nationes*; and of these there were sixty-four, as appears by the inscription upon the altar at *Lyon*, dedicated in the name of all the nations of *Gaule* to the honour of *Augustus*. Notwithstanding this union, the heads of the *Clans* still kept up their ancient power and authority within their several districts: And laboured continually to extend their influence, by increasing the numbers of their *clients* or dependants, and by making alliances with other chieftains, that had the like authority in their countries. The gentry or nobles, called by *Cæsar equites*, (because out of them, each attended by two servants on horseback, like the men of arms in latter times, was composed the *Gallic* cavalry, so much esteemed by the Romans) were indeed capable of being chosen into these senates, as we learn accidentally from a passage in *Cæsar*³, and were called also to some extraordinary councils or parliaments of the whole united community, when matters of the greatest consequence which affected all in common, were to be taken into consideration; particularly in the case of war and peace, and of subsidies, where a general contribution was necessary, agreeable to the well-known method among the *Germans*; *de minoribus rebus principes consultant, de majoribus omnes*. But the chief sway in all these assemblies lay in the hands of the heads of *Clans*, those little potentates in their several territories; for these I take to be what *Cæsar* and *Tacitus* call *principe* among the *Gauls* and *Germans*: And for this reason *Strabo*⁴ says, that most of these united people of *Gaule* were governed by *Optimates*, by the chief of their nobility. All honourable embassies, and the chief dignities of the state were reserved to these princes; so that it required an extraordinary degree of merit, and the intervention of *Cæsar's* authority⁵ with the *Ædui*, to raise up *Viridomarus*, one of the lower gentry, to the post of a magistrate: And it is plain from the history of his wars in *Gaule*, that all the general councils of that country, held at different times and places, whether in his presence or absence, were composed only of these princes, except the armed council convened upon the instances of *Induciomarus*. Of this last it is observed,⁶ that all who were come of age, and had received their arms according to the fashion of the country, like that of the *Germans* described by *Tacitus*, with regard to the *Comites* of the princes, (to whom the *Gallic Equites* seem to answer,) had a right to sit with their arms in their hands: but all the rest were extraordinary councils, convened not at the seat of the arch *Druid* near *Dreux*, where the ordinary annual general council was held, but at other places; and summoned upon special occasions of the greatest importance, yet in none of them do the *Equites* seem to be present.

¹ *Cicero, de Div.* l. i. *init. Gens in natione, quæ universalis.* ² *Tacit. An.* xii. n. 34, 37.

³ *De Bello Civili*, l. i. where speaking of the horse that came from *Gaule* to his assistance at *Le-ridu*, he says, that, among them, *erant complures*

bonæ adolescentes, senatorum filii & equestris ordinis, erant legationes civitatum, erant legati.

⁴ *L.* iv.

⁵ *De Bello Gallico*, l. vii.

⁶ *Ib.* l. vi.

THERE was one terrible inconvenience attended this kind of constitution; it was subject to eternal factions, to factions (as *Cæsar* says) not only in every state or united community, in every country, quarter, or territory, but almost in every house and family. This last particular of the factions that reigned so generally in families, is not easy to be accounted for, but by supposing that the custom of *Gavelkind* prevailed as much among the *Gauls*, as it did among the *Old Britains*; and that whilst the rights of the chieftain remained, with the capital mansion, to the eldest son, the rest of the lands were equally shared between him and the other children, and consequently the interest of the family divided. What favours this conjecture, is, that though *Cæsar* had few occasions to mention brothers, yet when he does, as in the cases of *Cotys* and *Vedeliacus*, *Eporedrix* and *Litavicus*, *Divitiacus* and *Dunmorix*, they still seem to be equal in point of power and fortune. The rest of *Cæsar's* observation is verified by the whole tenour of his history; where we read continually of cabals and factions, not only of the princes to engross the power of the several states in which they had an interest, but of those states using all their arts to gain over others to their party, and contending to get the sovereignty of *Gaule* into their hands, and to have the direction of all the general councils: A point which had been contested for many ages, first by the *Averni* and *Ædui*, and afterwards by the *Sequani* and *Rhemi*.

THEY seem to have taken the most care in guarding against any body's usurping the royalty, by providing (as hath been observed) that two persons of the same family should not, whilst both were living, be either created magistrates, or be admitted into the senate; and yet when this law was violated by *Vedeliacus*, they were forced to apply to *Cæsar's* authority, to put an end to the difference that arose upon that occasion. But such bodies are never able either to provide against factions among themselves, or to prevent the mischiefs thence arising; because perhaps they are always governed, and their proceedings directed by a few pushing men, who may not think it their interest to take effectual measures for such a purpose. This proved of great advantage to *Cæsar*, who knew so well how to manage and keep up those various factions in *Gaule*, and to make them subservient to his designs; that it was chiefly by their assistance he reduced a potent, warlike, rich, and populous country; which, had it been united, would also have been invincible.

XV. IT cannot be imagined that the *Old Britains* should be more united among themselves, or in a better condition to defend their liberties. The keys of the island, all the south parts of it next the continent, were in the hands of another people, whom, out of good nature, they had received in their distress; and who having got footing among them under the character of refugees, made war afterwards upon them as enemies. They had indeed their supreme councils like their neighbours; and as those of *Gaule* met annually near *Dreux*, so the *British* assembled as constantly at the *Bryn-gwyn*¹, or supreme tribunal, still remaining near the chief *Druid's* seat in *Anglesey*. Religious places were generally chosen for such assemblies, and it is the more reasonable to presume this was the place of their meeting; because the *British* poets from the age of *Talieffin*, down to the fifteenth century, make use of the words *Gorsedd-y Bryn-gwyn*, i. e. *the assembly of the royal or supreme tribunal*, to signify, the *parliament house*, or place of their assembly. It was an institution that served well enough to preserve an harmony between different nations, that knew nothing either of money or luxury, and led a frugal, simple, quiet life, without thinking of the rest of the world, with whom they

State of Britain when *Cæsar* invaded it.

¹ *Mona Antiqua*, p. 89. & seq.

had

had no intercourse, and consequently were not so subject to those factions, which distracted more opulent and ambitious people on the continent. But still there was an essential defect in their constitution, arising from the vast number of petty sovereignties and little *Clans*, under their particular *reguli* or *chieftains*; which *Strabo*, *Diodorus*, *Tacitus*, *Dio*, and others, all agree, had their several districts of government all over *Britain*, and who in extraordinary emergencies, (such as an invasion from abroad, a thing scarce heard of before,) could not easily be brought together to act in concert with united forces against the common enemy. Many of these little principalities indeed had united together, probably on *Divitiacus's* attacking them, and formed a few considerable states: Sometimes under kings, as the *Cattiuchlani* or *Cattivellauni*, the *Iceni*, and the *Brigantes*; and sometimes without any single head, but choosing a commander or general, when on any occasion it was found requisite, as the *Silures* and *Ordovices*. But still none of those who lay remote from the danger, seem to have been at all affected with the fate of such as were immediately attacked, or to have sent them any assistance; except only the *Ordovices* in the behalf of their neighbours the *Silures*. Thus waiting till it came to their turn to be invaded, they exposed themselves to be easily reduced one after another, according to the just observation of *Tacitus*: *Dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur*.

THEY were likewise very ill supplied with arms, unprovided of money and warlike stores, ignorant of discipline, and without any military skill or experience, the necessary consequence of a long course of peace, interrupted no where except on the borders of the *Belgic* colonies; in a country generally level and open, without any inclosure, without a single town or fortification from one end of it to the other, that might serve for a place of rendezvous or retreat on occasion, without any advantage of natural situation that might contribute to secure them from an enemy, but what a river offered in some quarters, woods in others, and mountains in the western and northern extremities; and in a word, destitute of all means of defence, but what their native courage and love of liberty inspired on a sudden. In these circumstances were they surprized with the news of an invasion, and called upon to make head against all the power of *Rome* in the height of her grandeur, and perfection of her military discipline, against the wisest general that ever was upon earth; and against an army of Veteran troops, formed by him to be all in their stations, as much heroes as himself; troops that had just before triumphed over prodigious armies of *Germans* and *Gauls*, the two bravest and most powerful nations in *Europe*, and were a terror even to the great *Pompey*¹, and all the other *Roman* generals and forces; whose hearts, ever till then utter strangers to fear, yet failed them, notwithstanding their equality in point of discipline, and their great superiority in numbers, when they were to encounter a body of men, whose prodigious actions and uninterrupted success, had gained them the reputation of being irresistible. Such were the manners, the religion, the government, and the condition of the ancient inhabitants of *Great Britain*, when *Julius Cæsar* undertook the conquest of this island.

¹ *De Bell. Civil.* l. iii.

A
GENERAL HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

BOOK II.

Containing the History of ENGLAND from the
Invasion of *Julius Cæsar*, till the *Romans* quitted
BRITAIN.

I. **B** RITAIN was yet scarce known, so much as by name, to the *Romans* ; though they had carried their arms over the greatest part of the habitable world ; and had reduced the finest provinces in the three known parts of the continent under their obedience. Their view in making these conquests, was not more to extend their empire and increase their revenues, than it was to raise their military glory ; the great object to which all their measures were directed ; and which seems to have been the reigning passion, as well of the state itself, as of the generals that commanded, and of the soldiers that served in their armies. They were formed for war, like the *Lacedæmonians*, by the very constitution of their republic : But though a passion so adapted to the nature, the maxims, and the politics of the state, and so proper to advance its grandeur, may well enough be deemed a branch of that public spirit, without which no country can be great or happy ; yet the noblest passions, when they grow boundless, become romantic, and produce effects, infinitely mischievous to the public, and that sometimes make even heroes appear ridiculous. *Rome*, labouring under the weight of her own grandeur, and corrupted by the wealth of her conquered provinces, could not yet be satisfied without extending her conquests to the ocean. She had indeed carried them thither on the side of *Mauritania*, and the south west of *Spain* ; but still the provinces that lay more northward on the western ocean, tempted the ambition of a people, who thought their glory could not be compleat without making it on that side, the only boundary of their empire.

Cæsar's first expedition into Britain.

THE ancients had no notion of any new undiscovered countries lying beyond the waters of the ocean ; which they supposed encompassed the earth on all sides, and was itself impassable : But to stop short in their conquests, before they reached that boundary, which nature had set to the world, was not either consistent with the glory of their heroes, or sufficient to satisfy that noble emulation, which put them upon vying with one another, in the greatness of their enterprizes, and extent of their conquests. *Alexander the Great*, when he had pierced farther into the *East*, than either *Bacchus* or *Hercules* had done, and had subdued all before him to the *Ganges*, still languished for a sight of the ¹ ocean ; as what was yet wanting to make his name immortal : Nor could the mutiny of his soldiers, the dangers of an unknown navigation, without any pilot to direct his course ; or the great loss of ships and men, which, through the violence of the tide and their inexperience of its nature and times of flowing, he actually sustained, before his fleet entered the *Indian* ocean, divert him from persisting in his purpose, of gratifying that vain and unprofitable curiosity. The great ² *Pompey*, having received the submission of *Tigranes* king of *Armenia*, and, by the reduction of *Iberia* and *Albania*, extended the *Roman* dominions to the *Caspian* sea, declined pursuing *Mithridates* in his kingdom of the *Bosphorus* on the *Palus Mæotis* ; where he had levied a numerous body of forces in order to penetrate through *Pannonia* into *Italy* : And contrary to the opinion of all the experienced officers in his army, leaving that dangerous enemy to recover new strength after his defeat, marched back with his forces into the *Lesser Asia*, in order to reduce *Syria*, *Judæa*, and *Arabia* ; for no other reason, but that it might be said, he had carried the *Roman* armies, as far as the *Red Sea*, a branch of the vast ocean, which surrounds the globe.

THESE two examples, the one of a prince, whose heroic actions seem first to have awakened his admirable genius, and to have fired his mind with a generous emulation ; the other of his rival in power, could not fail of putting *Cæsar*, who was inferior to neither in military skill and thirst of glory, upon signalizing himself in the same manner, that his fame might not in any respect be inferior to that of the others. Thus when he was ³ prætor, *Spain* being assigned him for his province, he subdued *Lusitania* and *Gallicia* ; and when he was afterwards consul, the government of *Gaule* being given him for a term of years, he had, by a series of amazing victories, reduced not only the inland parts, but all the maritime provinces of that country from the *Pyrenees* to the *Rhine* ; adding hereby a tract of coast for above a thousand miles in length, to the *Roman* empire, and providing for the security of his conquests, by bounding them all the way with the *western ocean*. These were solid acquisitions, much more glorious for the conqueror, than *Alexander's* visit to the *Indian Ocean*, or *Pompey's* march to the *Red Sea*, in which through the ready, but temporary, submission of the king of *Arabia Petræa*, he met with no opposition. Yet *Cæsar* not satisfied herewith, and as well to raise his glory to a point that would admit of no competition, as to strike the people of *Rome* with an enterprize too daring in appearance for any of them to conceive as feasible, and deemed the more dangerous, because the country was utterly unknown ; resolved to give laws to the ocean itself, (for so the crossing it with a fleet was in those days interpreted,) and to spread the terror of the *Roman* arms into *another world* ; a term frequently applied to *Britain*.

He did not want pretences for this purpose : such as would at least excuse his conduct to the state ; if the success did not answer his expectation, and justify his

¹ 2. *Curt.* l. ix. c. 4. & 9.

² *Plutarch in vit. Pompeii.*

³ *Plutarch in Cæsare.*

attempt.

attempt. It was an established maxim in the politics of the *Romans*, to treat all *Auxiliaries* in war as principals, and to allow nobody to assist their enemies with an impunity. They looked upon such assistance as an actual declaration of war, which rendered all the forms of denouncing it on their part; about which they were in other cases so very scrupulous, unnecessary. The *Britains* had sent succours to the *Veneti*, and other *Armorican* cities in their war against the *Romans*; and had done the same in all other wars of the *Gauls*: their island had served likewise for a retreat to the ringleaders of the *Belgæ*, whom they had spirited up into an insurrection, and who, being routed in battle, had fled over into *Britain*. To deter others from following their example, in hopes of a like escape, from the punishments that would otherwise be inflicted upon them, and to provide for the future quiet of *Gaule*; *Cæsar* probably thought it necessary to deprive them of such a place of refuge. These were reasons of state, plausible enough to warrant his invasion of this island, without applying to *Rome* for leave: And he seized the occasion so very readily, that it may reasonably be concluded, he had some other motive for the enterprize; and that it was his passion for glory, too strong and violent to brook any delay, which made him so eager to undertake it, in a juncture, when the affairs of *Gaule*, seemed to render his presence there absolutely necessary.

THAT country had not yet been accustomed to the *Roman* yoke; and though it remained in a full enjoyment of its laws and constitution, yet the very thoughts of dependance on another state, sat uneasy on a people, that had ever been fond of their liberty, and impatient of any subjection. There had been, the year before, a general revolt of all the maritime provinces, from the mouth of the *Rhine* to the furthest parts of *Aquitaine*; and all the other nations of *Gaule* were disposed to join in it, if *Cæsar* had not, with an activity and expedition in which he had no superior, suppressed it in a great degree, almost as soon as it broke out, and before the others had time to concert measures for putting their designs in execution. But the *Morini* and *Menapii* still held out: And ² during the precedent winter, a body of four hundred thousand *Usipetes* and *Tenchteri*, two *German* nations, had made their way over the *Rhine*, and were invited by the cities of *Gaule* to advance further into the country, in order to favour the general insurrection which they meditated. *Cæsar* indeed, surprizing this mighty army, when most of their cavalry was absent on an expedition, had cut it all in pieces: And to improve the terror, which such a victory struck into all the nations of *Germany*, particularly the *Suevi*, who had the reputation of being too powerful for the immortal gods to resist, and were exceeding troublesome to all their neighbours, built a bridge, a thing unheard of before, cross the *Rhine*; and falling upon their territories, burnt and destroyed all before him, without finding any where the least opposition. In this manner he spent the greatest part of the summer: And having done enough, as he imagined, to keep the *Gauls* from rising, and the *Germans* from sending them succours; at least for a time, till they recovered from the terror which possessed them at present; he returned, at the latter end of it, into *Gaule*, resolved upon his expedition to *Britain*.

WINTERS beginning early in these northern parts of the world, he could not but think the season too far advanced for such an enterprize³, and very improper for making a new campaign: But he still conceived it would be of great use to him, were he only to visit the island, and discover the genius and condition of the inhabitants, the nature of the country, the situation of places, and the convenience of its ports for landing; to all which the *Gauls*, were generally strangers; no body caring to venture thither but merchants, nor they any further than the

¹ *Cæs.* l. iii.² *Ib.* l. iv. *init.*³ *Ib.* l. iv.

maritine countries over against *Gaule*, with which they held a commerce. To inform himself in these and other particulars, he sent for merchants from all quarters, of whom he enquired after the largeness of the island, the number, strength, customs, manner, and constitution of the various nations that peopled it; their arms, discipline, and methods of making war, and the fittest harbours to receive a multitude of larger vessels: But could get no intelligence from them of any kind, not even as to the ports, which they must necessarily frequent, on account of their traffic. Not to be entirely in the dark as to these points, before he made his descent, he dispatched *C. Volusenus*, in a light galley, to make what discoveries he could upon the coast, with orders to return as soon as possible: And then advanced with his forces into the country of the *Morini*; where the passage to *Britain* being shorter, than from any other part of the continent, he had appointed the fleet to rendezvous, which was to serve him in his expedition.

WHILST he was there, waiting for the arrival of his transports, he met with some things, that seemed favourable to his enterprize; though *Volusenus*, not daring to land and trust himself to the inhabitants, had returned to him, with only such observations, as he had been able to make by a view of the land, the creeks, and havens, from his ship, in the five days that he had spent in coasting along the shore of *Britain*. The merchants, so reserved to *Cæsar*, had given early intelligence of his design to their correspondents among the *Belgic colonies* settled in that island; which had caused a general alarm: So that several of those states, to prevent the execution of it, by gaining time, till the winter came on; or to be better prepared than they were for an opposition, sent ambassadors to him, with offers of submission to the *Roman* empire, and of hostages to ensure the performance of their promises; offers, which could not fail of being well received by the *Roman* general, and of drawing from him suitable assurances in return. *Cæsar* dismissed the deputies, after recommending to them to persevere in the same sentiments: And sent along with them *Comius*, whom he had made king of the *Atrebates* in *Gaule*; with instructions to go to as many *Belgic* states in *Britain* as he could, to persuade them to a submission, and acquaint them with his resolution of coming thither immediately. He had a good opinion of the fidelity of a man, whom he had so particularly obliged; and had tried his valour, capacity, and conduct on several occasions: He judged him on these accounts, worthy of his confidence, and fitter than any other to be charged with such a commission; because of the great credit he had among his countrymen in *Britain*.

THERE happened at the same time another incident, which was full as seasonable, and served to lessen his apprehensions of a disturbance in *Gaule* during his absence. A great part of the *Morini*, whom it was too late to attack in their moorish and woody country, and yet was dangerous to leave behind in a state of enmity, being terrified to see him with an army in their neighbourhood, sent deputies to him, with excuses for their past conduct, and professions of a ready obedience to all his commands. He demanded of them a great number of hostages; which being accordingly delivered, he received their submission: And having got together about eight hundred merchant ships, sufficient to transport the foot of two legions, he embarked them immediately; assigning the few galleys he had for carrying over their officers. There were eighteen other transports which could not make the place of the general embarkation, being detained, in another port, eight miles off, by contrary winds: These *Cæsar* distributed to his cavalry; and having left a garrison in the port, either of *Vitсанд* or *Boulogne*, to secure it till his return, and ordered the rest of his forces to march against the *Menapii*, and into those quarters
of

of the *Morini*, which had not submitted, proceeded with the first fair wind on his expedition to *Britain*.

HE sailed from the coast of *Gaule* about midnight, and ¹ on *August* 26. *A. U. C.* 699. (when *Pompey* and *Crassus* were consuls,) or the 55th year before the Christian *Æra*, about ten in the morning, arrived with the van of his fleet off the *British* coast, in a place where the sea was pent in by steep hills; which arising high above the water, lay yet so near it, that darts might be easily flung from thence upon the shore, and were all covered with the forces of the enemy.

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CÆSAR saw plainly this was no proper place for landing: And resolving to wait at anchor, till the rest of his ships came up, called in the mean time a council of war; in which he acquainted his officers with what he had learned from *Volusenus*, and gave them directions about the manner, wherein they were to make their descent; particularly with regard to the surf of the sea, whose motion was quicker, and more uneven, than what they had been used to in the *Mediterranean*. About three in the afternoon, having the wind and tide with him, he weighed anchor: And sailing about eight miles further, anchored again in an open and plain shore; where the *Britains*, guessing at his design, were ready with their horse and armed chariots, followed by their infantry, to oppose his landing. The *Romans* had very great difficulties to encounter in making their descent; their ships were so big, that they could not ride but in a deep sea; the soldiers knowing nothing of the shore, and encumbered with the weight of their arms, were at once to leap down from their ships, to fix their footing in the waves, and to fight with the enemy; whilst the light armed *Britains*, either standing on dry ground, or advancing a little way into the water, in places with which they were well acquainted, plied them vigorously with their darts, and rushed upon them with horses used to that kind of service. Cæsar observing, that his men, daunted at a manner of fighting, to which they were utter strangers, did not advance with the same alacrity and eagerness, as they used to do in land engagements, ordered his galleys, which had been hitherto intermixed with the ships of burthen, though much more easy to be managed and quicker in their motion, to draw out from among them, to row forward, to plant themselves on the side, where the enemy lay open and exposed; and from thence with their slings, arrows, and engines, to drive them to a greater distance. This had its effect; for the *Britains*, having never seen any vessels of that kind before, were strangely amazed at the shape of galleys, the motion of the oars, and the unusual sort of engines, that annoyed them: And standing still at first out of surprise, began presently to give back a little, to avoid the wounds which they could not return. The *Romans* still hesitated, chiefly on account of the deepness of the sea; when the standard-bearer of the tenth legion, having prayed to the Gods for the success of his attempt, and called aloud to the soldiers to follow him, unless they would betray their eagle to the enemy, threw himself into the sea, and advanced forward with the standard. The *Romans* thereupon, encouraging one another not to suffer such a disgrace, jumped all of them after him out of the ship: and their example being followed by those in the other vessels, as soon as they respectively observed the action, they presently closed with the enemy, and a bloody combat ensued; which was maintained on both sides with great obstinacy. Whatever zeal the *Romans* shewed, in thus expressing their duty to the commonwealth, and the regard they had for their general's honour, it could not be done without a good deal of confusion; the men, as they got out of their ships, running to the next colours that appeared, so that not being ranged under their proper ensigns, nor able

¹ See Dr. *Halley's* discourse about the time and place of *Julius Cæsar's* descent on *Britain*.

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either to keep their ranks in the water, or stand firm on an ouzy bottom, they laboured under great disadvantages, and made their attack in a strange disorder. Whereas the *Britains*, knowing all the shallow places, when they saw any getting out of their ships, ran immediately to assault them, encumbered and puzzled as they were; great numbers falling upon a few, some bearing them down in the water, by the force and shock of their horses, whilst others, from the shore, lanced their darts upon all in general.

CÆSAR, seeing the inconveniencies arising from the height of his ships of burthen, ordered all the boats of his galleys, and the little pinnaces that served for scouts, to be filled with soldiers: And sent them to support such as he perceived to be overpowered. Thus reinforced the *Romans* got at last upon dry ground; and then their armour, which was before a meer burthen, turning to their great advantage, they formed readily into a body, which was continually strengthened with fresh supplies: And being able to exert their admirable discipline, in which they were infinitely superior to the enemy, charged them with so much fury, that they soon put their army to flight; though they could not pursue them far, nor improve their victory, as otherwise they might, for want of cavalry.

THE place where this battle was fought, and the *Romans* made their descent, seems to have been in the *Downes*, near *Deale*; which agrees very well with the descriptions given of it, by ¹ *Dio*, as well as ² *Cæsar*. It could not be *Richborough* or *Sandwich*, as well because the latter of those authors could not, in his account of the place, have omitted taking notice of the river, which there empties itself into the sea; as because they lye too far distant from that part of the coast, under which *Cæsar* came first to an anchor; which is too particularly described, to allow us to think it could be any other, than that near *Dover*. It is very plain from *Dio*, and agreeable to *Cæsar's* own relation, that he did not land at any usually frequented port, as *Dover* and *Richborough* were, nor where he first intended: But coming to an anchor off the place, till he was joined by the rest of his ships, which probably were directed thither, he sailed afterwards, with the tide setting towards the north; and passing by an head land, kept along the coast for about eight miles, till he came to a low plain, and open shore; which being commanded by no hills, afforded the conveniencies he before wanted for landing. Sailing all the way close by the land, a man of his knowledge, experience, and exactness, could not be mistaken in the distance; the headland which he passed is undoubtedly the *South foreland*; the cliffs, running from thence towards *Deale*, answer so exactly to the description of those which were covered with the *British* forces, that there is no room to dispute, but they were the same. In a word, all the circumstances, which we know with any certainty, conspire to assure us that the *Downes* were the place, where *Cæsar* made his descent. It is in a manner needless to take notice, that this is agreeable to the ancient tradition as well of the *Britains*, who thought *Deale*, or (as ³ *Nennius* spells it) *Dole*, to be the place of this battle; as of the *Saxons*, who fixed it at the same place, according to an old table, set up in *Dover Castle*, mentioned by ⁴ *Camden*; and that this learned antiquary, there also observed the banks of the naval camp, which *Cæsar* made to secure his ships, equally against the violence of storms, and the attacks of the *Britains*.

THE *Britains*, discouraged by the loss of a battle, in which they had engaged with greater advantages on their side, than they could ever expect in any other

¹ Lib. xxxix.

² *De Bell. Gall.* l. iv.

³ *Hist. Brit.* c. 14.

⁴ *Britannia in Kent.*

⁵ *Dion.* l. xxxix.

situation; and terrified by the fame of the wonderful exploits performed in *Gaule* by the ever victorious *Cæsar*; as soon as they got together after their flight, sent embassadors not of their own people, but of their friends the *Morini*, to treat of peace; offering to submit to his orders, and to give what hostages he should demand, for an assurance of their fidelity. They brought with them *Comius* king of the *Atrebates*; who had come over under the character of a friend, with a train of thirty horse, to prepare the way for *Cæsar*: But had been seized at his landing, and detained in custody; till now finding that submission necessary, which he had recommended to them by his advice, the *Britains* set him at liberty to get better terms for themselves by his mediation. *Cæsar* complaining of their inconstancy or insincerity, in sending of their own accord deputies over to the continent to sue for peace, and yet making war upon him so soon after without any cause, assured them however of pardon, upon their delivering a certain number of hostages, as a security for their future behaviour. Part of these were put into his hands immediately; and the rest promised in a few days, being to be fetched from remoter countries. Thus peace being concluded, the princes or chiefs of the *Belgic Britains* dismissed their followers to their several homes: And assembling from all parts in a general council, put themselves with their clans or countries, under *Cæsar's* protection; a resolution which, though it appears to be taken deliberately, and in common, was yet purely the effect of their present consternation, and therefore easily broke in an hurry, the first moment their fears were dispelled.

FOUR days after *Cæsar's* landing, the eighteen ships above mentioned, sailing with a gentle gale from the port, where they had lain wind bound, with the cavalry on board, appeared in sight of his camp, on the coast of *Britain*; when a sudden storm arising, blew with such violence, that none of them could keep their course, but were driven, some back to the port from whence they came; others more to the west of the island, where not able to ride it out, they were forced in the midst of terrible dangers, to put into different harbours on the continent. It happened that night to be full moon, when the tides in the ocean are highest; a circumstance utterly unknown to the *Romans*: So that their galleys, which they had drawn on shore, were filled with the flood; at the same time that the transport vessels, which lay at anchor off the shore, were shattered by the tempest; it being impossible to give them any assistance or relief. By this accident many of the ships were broke to pieces: And the rest became unserviceable through the loss of their ropes, anchors, and other rigging; which could not fail of raising a great disturbance and uneasiness in the whole army. They had no other vessels to transport them back to *Gaule*, nor any stores for the refitting of such, as were damaged: And as they all knew they were not to pass the winter in that country, they had made no provision of corn for their subsistence, during that uncomfortable season, in *Britain*.

THE council of *British* princes, which had been assembled on occasion of their accommodation with *Cæsar*, was not yet broke up; when advice being brought of the necessities and consternation of the *Romans* upon these disasters, they consulted together, what measures it was proper for them to take in this juncture. They found by their intelligence, that their enemies were destitute of corn, ships, and cavalry; and that their troops were but few in number, they concluded, from the smallness of the camp; which was narrower than ordinary, because *Cæsar* had transported the legions without their baggage. They imagined, that if they took up arms again, they might hinder the *Romans* from foraging, prevent their receiving any supplies of provision, and draw on the war till winter came on, and brought them further advantages; and if they got the better of these forces, or cut off

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their retreat home, no body would dare to pass the sea again to make war in *Britain*. They were too much elated by the sudden calamity befallen their enemy, which they interpreted to their own advantage, to consider any thing but what took up their thoughts for the moment, and flattered them in the fond expectations, which their overflowing hopes had raised ; or to reflect, that the sea was still open, and might bring supplies of corn and shipping, as well as cavalry, and other forces from *Gaule* ; that a victorious army will always find provisions for itself ; that the *Romans* were never so eager for the conquest of any country, as of such wherein they had suffered a disgrace ; and that they had to do with an army inured to hardships, and with a general, who never met with a difficulty, to which he was not superior. Their fears being now over, confidence and presumption presided in their councils : And sure of success, they resolved to break the peace. They had resorted freely to the camp before ; but now they withdrew from it by degrees : And summoning their followers from the country, chiefly in parts that lay remote from the camp, for the greater secrecy, assembled an army to surprize the *Romans* on the first opportunity.

CÆSAR knew nothing of their resolutions : But from the misfortune of his ships, and their delay in sending the hostages, suspecting something of that kind might happen, he had taken proper measures to provide supplies against all events. There being still some corn out in the fields, he caused every day a quantity of it to be brought into his camp ; he made use of the brass and other materials of the ships that were most disabled, to refit the rest ; and sent for other necessaries, that were wanting out of the continent : The soldiers worked with unwearied diligence ; and with the loss only of twelve ships, the rest of the fleet was soon put into a sailing condition. Whilst this was doing, the seventh legion went out, as usual, to forage without any suspicion of war ; the country people still remaining in their houses, and passing continually to and fro, between the camp and their own habitations. There was by this time only one place left in the neighbourhood, where the corn was unreaped : And the *Britains* imagining that the *Romans* would come thither to gather it, had hid themselves in the woods adjoining ; from whence, when they perceived the foragers had laid down their arms, and were busy in reaping, they sallied forth on a sudden, and surprizing them unprepared for opposition, killed a few, put the rest into disorder, and surrounded them with their horse and chariots ; preventing (as they thought) by this precaution, any intelligence being sent to the camp, or any succours being brought thence to their relief. But the *Romans* were old soldiers : And the advanced guard, posted before the gates of the camp, observing a cloud of dust greater than ordinary, in the place to which the legion was gone, gave notice of it to their general. Cæsar readily imagining how the case stood, marched towards it without losing a moment, at the head of the two cohorts that were upon guard ; ordering two others to supply their places, and the rest to arm and follow immediately. When he was got at some distance from the camp, he perceived, that his own men were much pressed by the enemy, and hardly able, though ferred together, to stand the shock ; being galled on all sides with their darts and javelins.

WHAT contributed most to the distress of the *Romans*, was a way of fighting in chariots ; which they had never seen before, and which the *Britains* used in the following manner. They drive at first up and down about the field, throwing their darts on all sides ; and by the terror of their horses, and the rattling of the wheels of their chariots, they frequently put the enemy into disorder. If they are able to break in among the squadrons of horse, they then leap from their chariots and fight on foot ; the drivers in the mean time retiring a little out of the battle, and ranging themselves in such a manner, that their masters may readily retire

retire to them, if too hard pressed by the multitude of the enemy. Thus they have at once the several advantages, derived from the firmness of a body of foot, and the quick motions of the cavalry in a battle; and by constant use and exercise, they are so expert in managing their horses, that they stop or turn them short when they are galloping down the steepest hill, run along the pole, stand upon the yoke of the horses, and throw themselves in an instant back again into the chariot. It was this new way of fighting, which puzzled and confounded the *Roman* soldiers; when *Cæsar* came very seasonably to their assistance. His coming up gave fresh spirits to his own troops, and put the *Britains* to a stand; but not thinking it a proper time to charge the enemy, and hazard a battle, he contented himself with facing them for a while; and then led back the legions into their camp.

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THE stormy weather, that continued for some days following, kept the *Romans* within their camp, and hindered the enemy from fighting. The *Britains*, in the mean time, having sent messengers into all parts, to represent the small number of the *Romans*, the great booty that was to be got, and the favourable opportunity of securing their own liberty for ever, if they could force the camp, had sooner than could be easily imagined, got together a great multitude of horse and foot, and advanced to attack the *Romans* in their entrenchments.

CÆSAR, though he saw that the enemy, if routed, would still escape, as they had done before, by their swiftness, he having only *Comius's* thirty horse to do execution on them in their flight, would not yet decline the battle: but drawing the legions out of his camp, charged, and soon broke their undisciplined forces. The *Romans* killed a good number of them in the pursuit, and returned to their camp, after burning the houses in the neighbourhood; which had upon the first breach of the peace, been quitted by the inhabitants. Before the sun went down, the *Britains*, dreading further harms, sent ambassadors to treat of peace: and were ordered to deliver, on the continent, a number of hostages, double to what had been demanded before. For as the equinox was at hand, *Cæsar* did not think his crazy ships fit for a winter navigation; and the season being then fair, he embarked his troops, and setting sail after midnight, arrived safe with all his fleet on the coast of *Gaule*. Such was the issue of his first expedition into *Britain*, in which, though he only discovered a convenient place for landing, and might get some informations about the people and condition of the island (which seems indeed to have been the chief thing he had in view) without ever advancing into the country, or keeping possession of one foot of ground: yet as people are apt to form vast ideas of every thing that is new, surprizing, and unknown, it was magnified at *Rome*, as an enterprize of the greatest glory to the state, by carrying their arms beyond the bounds of the world; and raised *Cæsar's* reputation to a greater height, than it had been carried by all his conquests in *Gaule*, and truly glorious victories over the *Helvetii*, *Belgæ*, and *Germans*.

II. THE *Britains*, forgetting their danger as soon as the *Romans* were out of fight, and flattering themselves with hopes, that they would never return, took little care to send the hostages agreed on; two only, out of the many cities or cantons of the island, performing that article of the convention. *Cæsar*, who had set his heart on another expedition, was not sorry for this violation of the treaty; and gave orders for building in the winter, a large number of vessels of a new kind, and a middle size, between galleys, and ships of burthen, all to go, with oars, of a particular make, lower and broader than ordinary, for the easier em-

His second
expedition
thither.

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barking and landing of his forces ; adapted to all the occasions of transport service ; and at the same time able to bear the violence of the waves ; and contrived so as to suffer little damage by being aground. His orders were so well executed, that, by the following spring, six hundred new ships of this sort, and twenty-eight galleys were built ; which, with his former fleet now refitted, being sufficient for the embarkation he proposed, were directed to rendezvous at the *Portus Itius*, (now *Vitsand*,) the most convenient port for his passage, not being above thirty miles distant from *Britain*. Thither he came himself with the legions, and had summoned the cavalry of all *Gaule*, about four thousand in number, with the princes of all the cities ; intending to leave very few of them on the continent, and to carry the rest along with him, as a kind of hostages, to prevent any disturbance there in his absence. He had abundant reason to take this precaution ; knowing very well the measures taken among the *Treviri*, and indeed all over *Gaule*, to raise a general insurrection : which was the rather to be expected, when he was at a distance ; since some of their chiefs could not refrain from shewing their malevolent and refractory spirit, even in his presence. After twenty-five days stay at the port of rendezvous, leaving *Labienus* with three legions, and two thousand horse, to take care of *Gaule*, and send him provisions as he should have occasion ; he embarked himself with the like number of horse, and five legions of foot, on board a fleet of eight hundred ships of all sorts ; and setting sail, about sun set, with a gentle south-west wind, arrived the next day at noon on that part of the coast of *Britain*, where he had made his former descent, and landed without any opposition.

THE *Britains* did not want intelligence of his design, and of the great preparations he was making for a second invasion : And notwithstanding the uncertainty, as to the time, had in order to oppose his landing, drawn down a body of troops to the coast, on which he had made his former descent. But observing, from the cliffs, the sea covered with such a prodigious number of vessels, they thought themselves too weak to oppose a body of forces, that seemed vastly superior to that of the year before, and capable of making a descent in several places at once : and had thereupon retired higher up into the country. *Cæsar* having chose a convenient place for his camp, and left *Q. Atrius* with ten cohorts, and three hundred horse on the sea coast to guard his fleet, which lay at anchor ; advanced with the rest of his forces about twelve miles within land, to find out the enemy : who having the advantage of a rising ground near a river, endeavoured to oppose his passage with their chariots and cavalry. The *Roman* horse charging them vigorously, they retired into the woods, to a place exceedingly well fortified by art and nature ; all the avenues to it being shut up by a great number of large trees felled, and laid across : and kept themselves within this fastness, which seemed to have been prepared long before for some such purpose, not offering to stir out of the woods, unless in small parties. In this fortification the seventh legion attacked them, and carrying the place with little loss, drove them out of the woods : but it being so late in the day, that there was scarce time/enough left to fortify their camp, and they knowing nothing of the nature of the country, *Cæsar* would not allow them to pursue the enemy any farther.

His design of doing it the next day was interrupted by advices, which he received from *Atrius*, of the great damage which his fleet had suffered the night before by the violence of a storm, against which neither the seamen could stand, nor anchors and cables hold the ships ; so that abundance of them were either stranded, or else shattered by falling foul upon one another. This account obliged him to return to his fleet, where finding, that with a great deal of pains, and the loss of about forty of the ships, the rest might be refitted ; he set all the carpenters

of the legions to work, sent for others from *Gaule*, and ordered *Labienus* to employ his forces in building as many new vessels as they were able. To guard against the like accidents for the future, he thought it best to draw all his ships on dry ground, and enclose them in the same fortification with his camp: and though it was a work of a prodigious labour, yet being carried on without any intermission, even in the night time, he finished it in about ten days; and leaving there the same garrison he had done before, marched back to the place, from whence he had returned thither.

HE found at his arrival a great alteration in the face of affairs; the enemy being much stronger than he expected, and a very numerous body of forces assembled from all parts of *Britain*. In his former expedition, and hitherto in this, he had none to make head against him, but the *Belgic colonies* in *Britain*: But they, on the news of the vast armament he was making, too powerful for them alone to resist, having applied to the *old natives* for assistance, it had been readily granted them, in the common cause of keeping out a foreign enemy, that designed to bring them both into subjection. A general council of all the states in *Britain* had been called on the occasion; and *Cassivellaun*¹ had been chosen general, to have the command of their united forces, and the sovereign direction of the war; with as absolute an authority, as *Vercingetorix* enjoyed soon after in the same post in *Gaule*, and which he seems to have exercised full as arbitrarily. He was, perhaps, the fittest person they could have pitched upon for that command, in respect of his military skill, and experience in martial affairs; for though the several states, among the original *Britains*, lived generally in peace with one another, such of them as lay on the frontiers of the *Belgic colonies*, had been engaged in almost continual wars with them from the time of *Divitiacus's* invasion. This had been particularly the case of the *Cassi* or *Cattivellauni*, whose prince, called in all appearance for that reason *Cassivellaun*, had probably distinguished himself in the wars, with the *Trinobantes* and *Atrebates*, whose lands lay contiguous to theirs, the one on the east, the other on the west; and with the other *Belgic* or (as *Cæsar* terms them) maritime states, that were by the river *Thames*, divided from their territories. On this account he was the last person that should have been entrusted with such an authority; it being very reasonable to apprehend, that as

¹ Mr. Baxter, in *Gloss. Brit. v. CASSII*, thinks it out of doubt, that the *Cassi* and *Cassi*, or *Cattivellauni*, were a *Belgic* people, and it is very likely that they were a colony of the *l'ello-casses*, that dwelt about *Rouen*, adjoining to the *Calètes*, or inhabitants of the *Pais de Caux*. Those parts of *Normandie*, north of the *Seine*, were full of forests; and the colonies thence transplanted (whilst the other *Belgæ* chose situations near the sea, or on rivers affording conveniences for commerce) seem to have pitched on countries, like those they had left in *Gaule*, for their settlements. Thus the former settled in *Hertfordshire*, and the parts adjacent; as the latter, under the name of *An-calises*, did in the hilly quarters of *Oxfordshire* and *Bucks*, in the neighbourhood of *Henley*; woody countries, where they might gratify their taste of hunting, and follow the same manner of life, which they had been used to in their original abodes. This way of living, so different from what the rest of the *Belgæ* observed, might make them hold the less correspondence with their countrymen, might dispose them to a readier coalition with the *Old Britains*, whose manners agreed with their own, or by their living dispersed in woods, might make them fall, after the

death of *Divitiacus*, an easier conquest to the chieftains of the bordering clans of the *Brigantes*. For such, undoubtedly, was *Cassi-vellaun*, (or *Cass-wallaun*, as he is called by the ancient author of the *Triades*) and either he, or his father, being prince or chieftain of the *Old Britains*, that inhabited *Bedford* and *Northampton* shires, had reduced the *Cassi-vellauni* into subjection, as his successor or descendant *Cunobelin* did afterwards a considerable part of the *Dobuni*, as well as of the *Trinovantes*. His dominions being enlarged by these conquests, he came to be considered as a king, and seems to have taken his title from that conquered nation, which he had entirely reduced, being for that reason called *Cassi-vellaunus*. So the late king or prince of the *Trinovantes*, is called *Immanuentius*, from ^a *Ymannos*, (*pridem*, *pridie*) and *Nuantius*, the word describing him to be the late chieftain, or ruler of the *Nouantes*; and his son was probably in his father's life, (before he got possession of his territories) described as his heir, by the name of *Mandubratius*, from *man*, (*little*) *du* (*black*) and ^b *U-raicht*, (*a chieftain*;) but such a one as might hold under another, i. e. the little black chieftain.

^a Dr. Davies's Dictionary.

^b Camden's Britan. in Ireland, COLRANE.

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long and settled habits of rancour are not to be shaken off in a moment, he might still retain some of that animosity, which continual wars and mutual depredations necessarily occasion; and might by some unhappy effect thereof, sacrifice the interest of the common cause to his private resentments.

WHATEVER reason the *Belgic* colonies had to dread any thing of this nature from *Cassivellaun*, they could not, considering the distress they were in, and suing as they did for succours, except to any person, whom the old *Britains* thought fit to entrust with the command of the forces, which they sent to their assistance; and which the *Belgæ*, whose all was at stake, and who lay nearest the danger, were glad to except on any condition: but they soon saw their fears were but too well grounded; the first instance that we find mentioned of *Cassivellaun's* exercise or abuse of his new authority, being an act of revenge upon one of his neighbours, with whom he had been lately at variance. This was *Immanuentius*, king or prince of the *Trinobantes*; who being, since the treaty with the old *Britains*, no longer upon his guard against a reconciled ally, as he had been against an open enemy, was slain by him: and his son *Mandubratius* forced to fly for his life into *Gaul*; where he came for refuge to *Cæsar*, a little before his embarkation for *Britain*. This was enough to dissolve the union between the ancient and the *Belgic Britains*, almost as soon as it was formed: And it must, by destroying all confidence between them, have naturally had this effect in any other juncture. But the dread the latter were in of the absolute power conferred upon *Cassivellaun*, by the general consent of all the nations of the island; a power as terrible to them, as that of *Vercingetorix* was to the *Gauls*; the situation of their affairs at that time, when an invasion was daily expected; and the impossibility of making head against the *Romans*, without the assistance of the other *Britains*, caused them to defer proceeding to that extremity, till a more favourable opportunity offered. Thus smothering their resentments for a while, they received some benefit from their late alliance; *Cassivellaun*, on advice of *Cæsar's* landing, marching to their succour with a body of the *Old Britains*; and it was this accession of forces, that made the *British* army much more numerous than the *Roman* general expected.

CASSIVELLAUN, notwithstanding his numbers, did not think it advisable to come to a general battle; in which the excellency of the *Roman* discipline gave the enemy a great advantage: but chose rather to harass them in their marches, and attack them in small parties. Several skirmishes happened accordingly during *Cæsar's* march; the *Britains*, from time to time, breaking on a sudden out of their coverts, falling upon the *Romans* with their horse and chariots, and retiring back to their woods and hills, whenever they were repulsed. This was constantly the case; the *Roman* cavalry being superior in all these actions, and killing abundance of the *Britains*, though not without some loss of their own, by pursuing them too eagerly into their fastnesses. Not discouraged by these repulses, they sallied again out of their woods, when the *Romans* least expected it, and were busy in fortifying their camps; and falling upon the guard, fought with great bravery: But *Cæsar* sending first two cohorts, and afterwards a greater number to support his men, who were put into some disorder by the new ways of fighting in chariots; the *Britains* charged boldly through them, before their ranks, in which intervals had been left to avoid the impetuous shock of the chariots, were quite closed; and killing *Q. Laberius Durus*, a tribune of the army, retired safe to their coverts. It was observed in these actions, that the *Romans* suffered great inconveniencies from their heavy armour, which disabled them from pursuing the enemy in their retreat, and did not allow them to stir in the least from the standard; and that their horse were exposed to unusual dangers, the *Britains* frequently giving way designedly; and when they had drawn the horse at a distance from the legions,

leaping

leaping from their chariots, and fighting on foot with great advantage; so that the *Roman* cavalry were equally in danger, whether they pursued or retired. To this was added another inconvenience; for the *Britains* never engaged in a large body, but only in small and scattered parties: which had their several stations appointed, and came up in their turns to relieve each other: fresh men still succeeding, and taking the place of such as were fatigued.

THE next day, the *British* forces appeared upon the hills, at a considerable distance from the camp; and a few of them began to skirmish with the *Roman* horse; though with less vigour, than they had shewed the day before: But about noon, *Cæsar* having sent *C. Trebonius* with three legions, and all the cavalry, to forage, they poured upon them from all parts, and attacked the legions at the same time, that they fell upon the foragers. The *Romans* repulsed them vigorously: and their horse seeing themselves supported by the legions, pursued them fiercely; not allowing them time either to rally, make a stand, or get out of their chariots, and cutting them down in their flight with great slaughter. This was a fatal blow to the *Belgic Britains*; and they found by experience on this occasion, how little the succours of a reconciled enemy are to be depended on; for all their auxiliaries quitted them upon this disaster: and *Cassivellaun*, whether daunted by his ill success, or influenced by some remains of his old rancour against them, left them to shift for themselves, and retired with his army composed of other *Britains*, and collected out of their several states, into his own territories. The old *Britains* thus deserted, were not able to stand an engagement: and had no reasonable party left, but to make the best accommodation they could for themselves.

CÆSAR, resolving to pursue *Cassivellaun*, advanced with his army to the *Thames*, the boundary of that prince's dominions; who, in despair of success in a battle, had dismissed the greatest part of his forces, but yet was determined to dispute the passage of the river; which was fordable by foot only in one place, and could not be passed even there, without great difficulty. When *Cæsar* came thither, he found the opposite bank lined with a great body of the enemies troops, and fortified with palisades; and was informed likewise by prisoners and deserters, that there were sharp stakes drove into the bottom of the river; though they did not appear, being covered with the water. He ordered however his horse first to enter the ford, and the legions to follow; who went on with great alacrity, though they could scarce keep their heads above the water: and both together charged the enemy with so much vigour, that they quitted the bank and fled. *Cassivellaun* ordering all the people and cattle out of the fields into the woods, kept only four thousand chariots about him, to observe the marches of the *Romans*; lurking generally within the woods or inaccessible places: but sallying out with his chariots, when he found a party detached from the main body either for plunder or for forage, and putting them into great danger. This made *Cæsar* absolutely forbid such excursions, and not suffer the horse to quit the legions, or to waste and burn the country, but in their company.

In the mean time the *Trinobantes*, one of the most powerful states in those parts, sent deputies to *Cæsar*, with tenders of submission, promises of obedience, and a request, that he would send *Mandubratius* to govern them, and defend him against the violence of *Cassivellaun*: He sent accordingly *Mandubratius* to them; and having demanded forty hostages, and a quantity of corn for his army; they very readily performed both, and were, by his protection, secured from the plunder and injuries of the soldiers. Several other people of the *Belgic Britains*, seeing this good treatment of their neighbours, and what little confidence was to be placed

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in their allies, thought they had no better party to take; and made likewise their submission; particularly the ¹ *Ceni magni*; (whose seat cannot, according to *Cæsar's* relation, be fixed any where so naturally as in *Surrey*) the ² *Segontiaci* of *Hampshire*; the *Bibroci* of *Berks*; the *Ancalites* in the hilly parts of *Oxfordshire* and *Bucks*; and the *Cassii* of *Hertfordshire*. *Cæsar* being informed by the deputies of these people, that *Cassivellaun's* town (so the *Britains* called a thick grove with a lawn in the middle of it, surrounded with a ditch and rampart to secure it from the sudden incursions of an enemy) was not far off, seated among woods and morasses, and filled with great numbers of men and cattle, resolved to attack him in all his strength; and marching to the place, found it very strongly fortified, both by art and nature. He stormed it however in two places: and the *Britains* not able long to withstand the force of the *Romans*, fled out of the place by different ways; losing great numbers of men in the pursuit, and leaving a vast quantity of cattle a prey to the enemy.

WHILST the war was carrying on in these quarters, *Cassivellaun* in hopes of obliging *Cæsar* to quit the country and return to take care of his navy, sent instructions to *Cingetorix* and *Taximagulus*, two *Kentish* potentates, *Carvilius*, chief of the *Carvili* in *Wilts*, and *Segonax*, a prince of the *Segontiaci* in *Hampshire*, to assemble all their forces and surprize the naval camp of the *Romans*. They endeavoured to execute his orders: but as soon as they appeared before the camp, the garison, not waiting an assault, sallied out and routed them without any loss or difficulty, slaying many of them, and taking their chief general *Cingetorix* or *Lugotorix* ³ prisoner. *Cassivellaun* was much affected with the news of this defeat, and still more with the defection of the *Belgic Britains*: and now discouraged by such a series of losses, which left him without any farther resource, to prevent the ravage of his territories, he sent ambassadors to *Cæsar* to treat of a submission, by the mediation of *Comius* of *Arras*. *Cæsar*, for fear of some commotions in *Gaule*, had determined to pass the winter on the continent; and considering, that, as there was but little summer left, the war might be protracted till it was over, thought it proper to accept his submission, on condition of a certain annual tribute to be paid by *Britain* to the *Roman* people. *Cæsar*, having received the hostages he demanded for the performance, and charged *Cassivellaun* not to offer any injury to *Mandubratius* or the *Trinovantes*, marched back with his army, and a great number of captives to the sea side; where he found his ships refitted, but very few arrived from *Labienus*. As the equinox was near, he chose to croud his soldiers closer together, rather than wait longer for more shipping: And setting sail about nine at night with a fine gale, landed early the next morning in

¹ I take the *Ceni Magni*, to be the inhabitants of the skirts of the vast forest of *Anderida*, extending over the hills of *Surrey*, who lying nearest to *Kent*, might for that reason be called the *Ceni*, or first of the *Magni*, (as the number of towns in that part of *Surrey*, still passing by the names of *Kenton*, *Kennington*, *Cheane*, &c. seem to intimate,) and to be part of the same kind of people, who dwelt in the adjoining borders of *Hampshire*, and in the skirts of the same forest, called *Mean-uari*, from whom the *Hundred of Mean*, the towns of *East* and *West Mean*, *Meanstock*, &c. borrow their names. These living dispersed in woods, seem to be denominated from their business, and the herds of goats, which they fed in that wild forest; *Mean* or *Mean-nan*, being in *Celtic* and *Irish*, a *Kid*; and *Mean-uari*, signifying, *Viri Caprarii*, (*Goatherds*.) The ancient town of *Ghiete-tun*, now *Gatton* in *Surrey*, shews, that the hills there were stocked with goats formerly, and the like may be presumed

from the names of the manors of *Gates-bull* or *Goats-bill*; *Bucklan*, from *Buch*, a *be-goat*, and *Lan-septum*, *Waverley* or *Gaverley*, from *Gaer* or *Gavar*, *capra*, and *Lle*, *locus*; *Godel-mynn* from *Godel*, *conventus*, a *drove*, and *Mynn*, *hædus*. See *Lloyd's Compar. Vocab. v. CAPER, HOEDUS, Irish Dict. v. MEANAN, Archæol. p. 221. v. CODEL, &c.*

² See *Baxter's Goss. Ant. Brit. v. SEGONTIACI, BIBROCI, ANCALITES, CASSII, CATTIVELLAUNI.*

³ *Lugotorix*, whose name implies, that he was the *toparch* or *chieftain* of the country, lying on the banks of the river (*i. e.* the *Thames*) in *Kent*, from *Lug*, *liquor*, *aqua limpida*; *Oto*, *ripa*, and *Ris*, *primus*, *rex*, *dux*, *dux*. See *Baxter v. CINGETORIX, LUGOTORIX, OTTODINI.* So *Cadel*, prince of *Powis*, a country through which the *Severne* runs, was surnamed *Deyrn-lug*, from *Deyrn* or *Theyrn*, *tyrannus*, a *king*, and *Lug*, a *river*. See *Nennius, c. 34.*

Gaule, having had the good fortune not to lose so much as a single transport which had soldiers on board, in either of his expeditions. The last of these, was in *A. U. C.* 700, when *Lucius Domitius*; and *Appius Claudius* were consuls; *i. e.* in the fifty fourth year before the *Christian* æra.

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THE only authors among the ancients, whose works have been preserved to our times, that have given us any considerable particulars of these invasions, are *Cæsar* and *Dio Cassius*; and it is from them that this relation is taken. It appears plainly upon the whole, that the divisions of *Britain* paved the way for her ruin; that the dissensions which reigned between the *Belgic* and the *ancient Britains*; the vindictive temper of *Cassivellaun*; the abuse of his power in the slaughter of *Immanuentius*, and oppression of the *Trinovantes*; his carrying off the auxiliary corps of ancient *Britains*, retiring with them to his own territories; leaving all the *Belgic* provinces exposed to the ravages of the enemy, (which naturally reviving their former animosities and throwing the *Belgic Britains* into despair, put the *Trinovantes* upon setting the first example of a defection, and the rest upon making their submission) where the true causes of this island's falling an easy prey to the *Romans*. It was in truth, a much easier affair, than it is generally thought, or hath been hitherto represented; and however surprizing it may appear, it is nevertheless very certain, from authorities liable to no exception, that *Cæsar's* second expedition took up no more time than his first¹, and that all the transactions of his

¹ *Cæsar* had not as yet reformed the *Roman Kalendar*, so that the equinox, was then supposed to fall out later in the year, than it was afterwards settled; and yet after he arrived in *Gaule*, from his first expedition, he sent *Labienus* to reduce the *Menapii*, and such of the *Morini* as had not submitted; which was done before he put his army into winter quarters. He still staid in that country, till after *New-year's-day*, when ^a *L. Domitius* and *Appius Claudius* entered on their consulship; and then seeing the *Britains* had not sent the hostages, stipulated by their treaty with him, he gave orders for providing a fleet, in order to a second invasion. After this, he set out for *Italy*, and there held the *Diet*s or *Comitia* of the states of *Gallia Cisalpina*, and thence crossing the *Alpes*, went into *Illyricum*, and made preparations to attack the *Pirustæ*, who had wasted a great part of the province, but now seeing their danger, sent deputies to excuse what had been done, and to promise satisfaction. *Cæsar* ordered them to bring a number of hostages by a certain day; which being done by the time appointed, he named commissioners to examine into the damages, and rate the satisfaction to be made to the injured parties. Then holding a convention of the *Illyrian* states, he repassed the *Alpes* into *Gallia Cisalpina*, and from thence into the *Transalpine Gaule*, where he visited all the winter quarters of his army, to see in what forwardness the ships were, which he designed to make use of in his *British* expedition; and having given orders for what was further to be done, he appointed his fleet to rendezvous at the *Portus Icius*; and assembling his forces, marched with four legions, and eight hundred horse, into the country of the *Treviri*; a long march from the sea coast, or parts of *Gaule*, where his ships were building by the legions. There he received the ready submission of *Cingetorix*, and not long after the unwilling one of *Induciomarus*, upon the delivery of two hundred hostages, whom he had particularly named; choos-

ing this party, how little soever it was to be depended upon, rather than be obliged to spend all the summer in reducing him by force. He then convened all the princes of the *Treviri*; and having taken the best measures he could for the peace of the province, marched back with his army to the *Portus Icius*, where he was detained twenty-five days, by contrary winds. At last a favourable gale arising, he ordered his forces to embark, when a new incident occasioned a further delay. *Dumnorix*, general of the *Æduan* cavalry, a man of the greatest power in his own country, and of great credit in all other parts of *Gaule*, the likeliest person to spirit up all the *Gallic* states to a general insurrection, stole away from the camp with the troops he commanded; and *Cæsar* was forced to send a great part of his horse after him, who using great diligence in the pursuit, overtook him, and killing him on his refusal to return, brought back the *Æduan* cavalry; after which the embarkation was quietly made without any further delay. This, however, is such a series of transactions, all after the beginning of the year, that whatever allowances are made for *Cæsar's* celerity, in the dispatch of business, it cannot yet be supposed, that it should be all done before the end of *July*. That it was not, seems very clear from *Tully's* letters, whose brother *Quintus* went with *Cæsar*, in his last expedition to *Britain*. In one of those to *Atticus*, *Lib. iv. Ep. xv.* dated *July 27*. "After sending him an account of what passed at *Rome*, particularly of
" the candidates for the tribuneship, one of which
" was supported by the consul *Domitius*, and telling him, that if the courier did not set out,
" till after the election was over, the next day,
" (*July 28*.) he would let him know the issue of
" of it; he adds, that he guessed from his brother
" *Quintus's* letters, that *Cæsar* was got by that
" time into *Britain*, and was very anxious till he
" heard what was doing there." As the carriage

^a *L. v. init.*

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700.

last campaign here passed within the compass of the single month of *August*. He left no garrison, and made no settlement in the island, nor did his soldiers carry off either gold or silver, or any booty, besides their captives: and all the advantage arising to the *Roman* state from this expedition, consisted in the glory of carrying their arms beyond the ocean, and in a tribute agreed to be paid, which could not be considerable. This seems to be stipulated in the name of all *Britain* by *Cassivellaun*, in virtue of the supreme power delegated to him by a general Assembly of the *States* of the country: but as he had not time to consult them on the occasion, it must be done without their particular consent. It may therefore well be questioned, whether this tribute was ever duly paid; or, if it were at first, whilst the terror of *Cæsar's* arms, and the fame of his victories over many hundred thousands of *Gauls* the following year, were fresh in their memory, there is good reason to think it was soon dropped; at least by the old *Britains*, who being con-

of letters, from the coast of *Britain* to *Rome*, generally took up a month; *Cicero* could not know, at that time, that *Cæsar* had lain wind-bound twenty-five days, after he was at the sea side ready to embark, and it may therefore reasonably be supposed, the latter did not arrive in *Britain*, so soon as *Cicero* imagined, on the 27th of *July*. In a letter to his brother *Quintus*, *Lib. iii. Ep. i.* *Cicero* acknowledges the receipt of four of his brother's letters from *Britain*, the last dated *August* the 10th, and the other three very short ones, wrote all at the same time, about his private affairs, as they came into his head, upon *Oppius*, *Cæsar's* secretary's being hindered by business, or perhaps by the winds, from dispatching the express at the moment he designed; but with so little in them about *British* affairs, that all which *Marcus* could gather from them was; that there was little or nothing, either to rejoice at or fear with regard to the affairs of *Britain*. These letters of *Quintus*, (which his brother received about *September* the 12th at *Arpinum*,) seem to be wrote after *Cæsar* had driven the *Belgic Britains* from their intrenchment in the wood, before they were joined by *Cassivellaun*, and when he was returned back to his camp on the sea coast, to repair his shattered navy; which took him up ten days, besides those spent in marching back to the coast, and in returning to his other encampment, twelve miles distant. *Quintus* wrote from *Britain* on *August* the 22^d, another letter to his brother, who seems to have received it at the same time, with a letter wrote ten days after, (*viz.*) on *September* the 1st by *Cæsar*, or perhaps the day after, for in *Epist. i. ad Quintum Fratrem*, l. iii. which is dated *September* the 29th, the day after *Gabinus* entered *Rome* by night, he says expressly, that he received *Cæsar's* on *September* the 28th, and that of *Quintus*, as he was folding up his letter of the 29th to send away; but adding to it, on that occasion, he says, that *Cæsar*, in his letter of *September* the 1st, had acquainted him, that *he was then come back to the sea*. There he waited some time, in expectation of *Labienus's* sending him sixty more transports from *Gaul*; but they not coming so soon as he expected, being driven back by storms, or contrary winds, he crowded his men together on the ships he had, and landed in *Gaul* on *September* the 26th, as *Cicero* tells *Atticus* in his letter, (*Ep. xvii. ad Atticum*, l. iv.) which seems to be wrote on *October* the 25th, before he set out for his *Villa* near *Tusculum*. It appears from hence very plain, that *Cæsar*, after the

repairing of his ships, and the fortifying of his naval camp, could not have above twenty days left for his expedition against *Cassivellaun*: The boundary of whose territories on the *Thames* was eighty miles from the sea coast, where the *Romans* landed. He seems to have marched from the place of his engagement, with that *British* general, by *Lenham*, *Maidstone*, *Kestonbeath*, and *Woodcoate*, to *Otlands* and *Corwaystakes*, where the sharp stakes, of the thickness of a man's thigh, covered with lead, and driven hard into the bottom of the river, to embarrass the *Romans* in their passage of the ford, were in *Bede's* time still remaining. The rest of these few days were spent in marching through the western borders of *Middlesex* to *Verulam*, and in reducing *Cassivellaun*: And *Cæsar's* march terminating there, it is not reasonable to think it could have any effect on the *Iceni*, a potent state of the *Old Britains*, whose country lay too far off, to allow us to imagine, they should send deputies to court a subjection, whilst the enemy kept at such a distance. This contributes to shew, that the *Ceni Magni*, who, influenced by the example of the *Trinobantes*, a *Belgic* colony like themselves, and the good usage they received from *Cæsar*, were the next people that submitted to him, can be no other than the inhabitants of *Surrey*. *Cæsar* had passed through part of their country; and the whole of it lay exposed to the ravages of his soldiers; it was therefore natural for them to prevent the mischief by a timely submission. The author of the *Britannia Romana*, p. 17. thinks there is a mistake in the word, and that it should be read *Iceni-Regni*, so as to mark two different people; but the same difficulty still subsisting, in this case, with regard to the *Iceni*, my notion is, that if the word be really *Regni*, it should be read *Ceni-regni*, or (as *C*, was always in those days pronounced like *K*,) to humour the pronunciation, *Keniregni*, i. e. *Citeriores Regni*, the first of the *Regni*, or the upper *Regni*, for so the clans of the *Regni* seated on the *Downt*, or hills of *Surrey*, were, in comparison of the others; who inhabited the sea coast of *Hampshire*, with the adjoining borders of *Sussex*, and were divided from the *Cantii*, by the vast forest of *Anderida*; whereas the *Regni* of *Surrey*, who, as *Ptolemy* says, lay between the *Cantii* and the *Atrebates*, were contiguous to the former, and the first of their nation in *Cæsar's* way. That the word *Cen*, *Ken*, or *Kyn*, signifies both *first* and *upper*, we are assured by the learned *Britain*, author of *Mona Antiqua*, p. 21.

cerned in no trade, had not the same dependance on the *Romans*, as the *Belgic* colonies had on account of their commerce; there being no vent for the native commodities of this island at that time, but in the *Roman* empire. This rendered it very easy for the *Romans* to levy upon them their proportion of the tribute, by seizing their effects, and laying a duty on their merchandize: and it is the more probable that they took this last method: because some of the authors of those times, call the money levied upon *Britains*, a duty or custom, whilst others term it a *tribute*.

III. AFTER the death of *Julius Cæsar*, the *Romans* were so embroiled in civil wars, that they could not look after their remote conquests: and when those wars were ended, *Britain* lay still neglected. The emperor *Augustus*, in the 6th of his reign, and the 26th year before *Christ*, having passed into *Gaule*, and regulated the tributes of the several nations of that country, entertained the design of making an expedition hither, probably for the like purpose: but was hindered from putting it in execution, by the breaking out of the Cantabrian war, and the revolt of the *Salassi*, a people of *Piedmont*. The design however alarmed the little potentates of *Britain* to such a degree, that, to divert the storm, they sent ambassadors to *Augustus* to sue for peace, and to bring presents and oblations to the capitol: and they succeeded so far as to prevent an invasion; the *Romans*, as ¹ *Strabo* observes, not thinking it worth while to be at the expence of conquering a country, which had not force enough to attack them in their own territories. They considered likewise, that the conquest of it might expose them to great inconveniencies from the neighbouring islands, and they could reap little advantage from it in other respects; since they received greater sums by the duties on the *British* merchandize exported into *Gaule*, and the foreign commodities imported into *Britain*, without employing troops to levy them, than they could expect from a tribute, deducting the charge of a garrison, which in such case would become necessary. These duties not being heavy, the *Britains* submitted to them easily: and continuing independent in other respects, lived in amity with *Rome*, during the reigns of *Augustus* (who was more intent on securing the dominions he already possessed than of adding new territories to the empire) and of his successor *Tiberius*, who followed the maxims of his predecessor. Thus when *Germanicus*, after his glorious campaign against the *Cherisc*, and his victory over *Arminius*, in the plains of *Wege-*
fac, on the banks of the *Weser*, had embarked his men on the *German* ocean: and his fleet being dispersed by a storm, some of his ships were driven into desert islands, others either wrecked on the coasts, or forced to take refuge in the ports of *Britain*, probably in those parts which were possessed by the old *natives*; the *British* *reguli* ², or chieftains, assisted and received the distressed *Romans* with great humanity, and sent them back in safety to their general. In consequence of such friendly dispositions, there was a continual intercourse between the people of *Britain*, and the subjects of the *Roman* empire; the principal of the *British* nobility resorted frequently to *Rome* itself, and some of them were there educated. The *Roman* publicans, settled here for collecting the customs of merchandize, had all the opportunities they could wish of observing the nature, situation, and condition of the country, as well as the circumstances, strength or weakness, dissensions, views, and interests of the various clans and people that inhabited this island. Thus *Britain*, terrible whilst it was unknown, became familiar to the *Romans*; who now finding it an easier matter, than they once imagined, to reduce it into the form of a province, soon forgot the political maxims of *Augustus*: and though the con-

State of *Britain* from thence to the invasion by the emperor *Claudius*.

A. D. 16.

¹ L. ii. c. 4.

² *Tacit. Annal.* ii. n. 17.

A. D. 16.

quest thereof was scarce reconcileable to the interests of the state, and could contribute little to its profit or revenue; yet there was something in the name or glory of a conquest, and in the sound of the word *Britannicus*, glaring enough to strike the fancy, and tempt the vanity of a worthless emperor. *Caius Caligula*, vain and blustering, but withall a rank coward in his nature, sudden, impetuous, uncertain, and extravagant in all his actions, proposed, once in a freak, to pass over into *Britain* upon the following occasion. *Cunobelin*, prince of the *Cattivellauni*, who had, since *Julius Cæsar's* time, extended their territories so, as to bring the *Trinovantes*, (among whom *Ptolemy* places *Camulodunum*) the *Dobuni*, and other clans of people under their vassalage, was, by this accession of dominion, the most powerful prince in the island. He lived in a good correspondence with the *Romans*, taking care to have the duties of merchandize regularly paid; as appears from several of his coins¹ struck in the ports where the *Roman* customers and minters resided, with the word *Taschia* inscribed, to express their being (as the word denotes in *British*) *tribute pennies*. He had many sons, three of which are mentioned by the *Roman* historians, *Adminius*, *Caratacus*, and *Togodumnus*: the last of these he made governour of the *Dobuni*, as his name imports; the second probably presided over those quarters of the country of the *Cattivellauni*, that lay next the *Silures*, and possessed them in property after his father's death; if he did not, by the exclusion of *Adminius*, the eldest of the brothers, succeed him in all his other dominions. *Adminius* seems, in *Cunobelin's* lifetime, to have presided over the *Trinovantes*: and either for raising some disturbances in the state, and rebelling against his father, or for some other misdemeanors, was by him driven² out of *Britain*; and flying for refuge to *Caligula*, put him upon making a conquest of the island³.

A. D. 39.

CALIGULA assembling an army of 200,000 men, and marching first against the *Germans*, passed the *Rhine*: but without coming to any action, or so much as seeing an enemy⁴, repassed it again immediately, in order to plunder *Gaule*, and from thence cross the sea with his forces to *Britain*. When he came to the ocean, he drew up his army in battalia: and having taken a short turn upon the sea in a galley, gave orders on his coming ashore for a charge to be sounded, and the signal of battle to be given. No enemy appearing, the soldiers were commanded to gather all the cockles and shellfish they could find; which he called the spoils of the ocean, and sent to *Rome* by land, with the galleys which had attended him at sea, to serve as ornaments of his triumph. All that he did worth notice, during his stay on the coast, was, the building of a watch-tower near *Boulogne*, as a monument of his imaginary victory, and to serve for a guide, by night, to ships at sea; which being at first called *Turris-ardens*, and since, by the common people of the country, termed corruptly *Tour Ordans*, or *Tour d'Ordre*, was repaired by *Charlemagne*⁵, and is still subsisting a⁶ noble monument of *Roman* antiquity.

¹ In *Camden's* *Britannia*.² *Sueton. Calig. c. 44.*

³ Some^a imagine he was made king of the *Trinovantes* by *Claudius*; and, in support of their opinion, alledge a copper coin found in *England*, and engraved among others by *Camden*; on which, though a great part of the letters are defaced, there is still legible on one side in *Greek*, ΒΡΕΤΑΝΝΙΚΟΣ; and on the other, there is an half ship, with these words, ΜΕΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ ΕΤΙΜΙΝΑΙΟΥ ΒΑ... (i. e. *Basileos, king.*) The rest of the inscription being illegible, they endeavour to supply it by the reading of another medal, in the very same character, published by *Ostavius Strada*, which hath the same inscription with the addition of ΑΟ, the initial letters of *London*.

But as Mr. *Spanheim*^b has assigned a different reading to the last of these medals, there is no arguing from so uncertain a foundation; though nothing is more natural than to think that *Claudius*, upon the conquest of those parts of *Britain*, which had belonged to *Cunobeline*, should put *Adminius* in possession of some part of his father's territories, and that when he erected *Camulodunum* into a colony, taking away the lands from the *Britains*, and dividing them among the *Roman* Soldiers, who settled there, (as his coins prove he did) *London* should then become the *British* metropolis of the *Trinovantes*.

⁴ *Dio. l. lix. Oros. l. vii. c. 5.* ⁵ *Aimon. l. iv. n. 99.* ⁶ *Bucher. de Belg. l. iv. c. 10.*

^a *Barton's* *Artenius*, p. 158.^b *De usu Numismatum*, vol. II. p. 325. Ed. *Amsterdam*, 1717.

A CONDUCT so full of vanity, folly and extravagance; such a senseless shew of embattled armies facing the sea instead of an enemy, and such a ridiculous parade of a mock triumph, followed by the servile acclamations and flatteries of a corrupt and abject senate, rendered the state of *Rome* as despicable, as the person of the sovereign. The *Britains* seeing such a prodigious number of forces not daring to venture over the ocean to attack them, and all the mighty preparations and furious menaces of *Caligula* thus vanish into smoke, ceased any longer to dread the *Roman* power: and flattered with a notion, that they were for ever safe from any invasion, suffered themselves to be surprized in the height of their security and confidence, by the most indolent and stupid of his successors. *Claudius* lived to come to the empire, because no body thought him fit for that dignity, or indeed capable of discharging the least office, or of managing any publick business whatever: He had neither parts nor judgment to qualify him for government, or even keep him from the universal contempt of mankind. He was likewise infinitely timorous, fond of ease, pleasure, and trifles; unthinking, without application, without ambition, had neither a desire nor thought of empire; but void of all passions himself, and without any will or sentiments of his own, he adopted implicitly all that were inspired into him by those that were about his person; who always found in him not an assuming prince, but an obsequious minister, ever ready to execute their pleasure. These favourites, slaves in their original, their temper, and their sentiments, tho' enfranchised, advanced to honours and courted more than their master by all that wanted to make their fortunes, had a mind for their own credit, that their pupil should give himself an air of unexpected activity; and make a figure in the world by some conquest, that would add to the pomp of his titles. *Beric*, a considerable *British* chieftain, and some others of the same nation, had upon their ill success in the civil wars, which the princes of *Britain* (secure as they fancied themselves from all foreign dangers) had made of late upon one another, been forced to quit their country, and fly to *Rome* for protection. These exiles magnifying their own interest among the *Britains*, and representing the great facility of the enterprize, it was resolved to undertake the conquest of this island; and to send over an army hither under the command of *A. Plautius*, a man of senatorial dignity, and a wise experienced officer; with instructions to give notice, if he met with more than ordinary difficulties, that *Claudius* might come over in person to his assistance.

IV. WHEN *Plautius* came with his forces to the sea in *Gaule*, they expressed a strong aversion to being transported (as they said) into another world: and were ready to mutiny on the occasion. This caused some delay in their embarkation; which proved in the end of no disservice; as the news of it, confirming the *Britains* in their notion, that the *Romans* never durst attack them in this island, kept them from drawing their forces together to oppose his landing; so that he made his descent without opposition. There were other circumstances favourable to his enterprize, and which gave him good reason to expect success; a great part of the inhabitants of *Britain* being much better prepared for a submission to the *Romans*, than they were at the time of the two former invasions. The *Romans* had not at that time had footing in any part in *Gaule* (besides their province of *Gallia Narbonensis*) above three years; and *Cæsar* was then upon the point of being attacked by the united forces of the *Aquitana*, *Celtica*, and *Belgica*, all the parts of that country, with which the *Britains* held any correspondence. But now all *Gaule* was reduced into the form of a province, and was so firmly settled in

The Roman conquests in Britain under Claudius.

A. D. 43. its obedience to *Rome*, that for an hundred years past there had been no disturbance in the country. All the commerce of *Britain* had been, during that space of time, carried on through *Gaule*, and was much improved above what it had been before: Nor could the *Belgic* colonies, who carried on that commerce, possibly find any other vent for their commodities, than in the *Roman* empire. They paid already duties on their merchandize; they saw their neighbours of *Gaule* easy and rich under the *Roman* yoke; they had no reason to apprehend an harsher treatment, if they did not provoke the *Romans* to it by acts of hostility; and thus having little to dread, they had something likewise to hope from the like subjection.

WHETHER it was owing to the great power conferred upon *Cassivellaun*, or to some other cause, it seems very clear, that the *Cattuvellauni* had very much extended their dominion since *Cæsar's* expeditions. Their territories now reached from *Lincolnshire* eastward, through the shires of *Northampton* and *Worcester* to the banks of the *Severn* westward; each lesser people finding a convenience in being united to a stronger, in order to be more powerfully protected and secured in the quiet enjoyment of their estates. *Bedford* and *Hertford* shires, and the western part of *Middlesex*, were their ancient possessions; which they had much enlarged by conquests over the *Belgic Britains* that lay contiguous to them; having in *Cunobelin's* time reduced the *Trinovantes* (who inhabited the rest of *Middlesex*, and a great part of *Essex*) the *Ancalites* and part of the *Dobuni* settled, the one in the hills of *Bucks*, and *Oxfordshire*, near *Henley*, the other in the vale of *Ailesbury* and the lower part of the latter county. The *Belgic Britains*, thus losing ground every day, and in danger of being reduced one after another by that powerful nation of the *ancient Britains*, seem to have thought they had no other or better party to take, to prevent further encroachments from an old enemy, whose genius and manner of life, so different from their own, would (if once their masters) put them upon destroying that foreign commerce, which was the chief means of their comfortable subsistence, than to make an early submission to the *Romans*, and thereby engage the protection of a mighty emperor, whom they were not able, with all their united force, to oppose. These probably were the reasons, why the *Belgic* colonies were so easily subjected by the *Romans*, and assisted them afterwards in the subduing the rest of *Britain*.

PLAUTIUS landing in a country thus divided within itself, could hardly meet with an enemy; every body having retired to their fastnesses in hills and marshes, and none attempting to harass him in his march. Thus unmolested, he passed through *Kent*, advancing by the route which *Julius Cæsar* had taken formerly, till he came to the *Thames*:¹ and then coasting along the river, without coming to any action, (as far as we can learn from *Dio*, the only guide we have to inform us of any particular circumstances of this expedition) till he had marched as far as *Wallingford*, and passed the *Thames* into *Oxfordshire*. *Cunobeline* was now dead, and that county belonged to one of his sons called *Togodumnus*; the name² implying, that he was the leader or prince of the *Dobuni*, who inhabited that quarter of the country, as his elder brother *Caratachus* or *Caradoc* was of the *Cattuvellauni* in the rest of their territories. It is not unlikely that *Beric*, who is universally allowed to be the chief promoter of this invasion, was a chieftain among the *Dobuni*, and had been expelled his country and deprived of his estate by the *Cattuvellauni*, when they subdued it; at least there is a town or village, that still bears his name of *Berric* in those parts, adjoining to the ancient city of *Dorchester*; and as he came along with the *Romans*, nothing is more natural than that, to serve his

¹ *Dio*, l. lx.

² *Baxter's Gloss Brit. v. DOBUNI.*

own ends, he should put them upon making their first attempt against the *Dobuni* or *Boduni*, as by a transposition of letters they are sometimes called. A. D. 43.

THERE *Plautius* met with the enemy he had taken so much pains to find, and came to a battle, first with *Caratacus*, and then with *Togodumnus*; but being victorious in both engagements, he received the submission of part of the *Dobuni*, that were in vassalage to the *Cattivellauni*: and having left a garrison to secure the country, probably at *Aldchester*, an old *Roman* town near *Burcester*, (which, perhaps, was so called, because prior in time to all their other fortifications,) advanced to pursue the *Britains*, who had upon their defeat retired behind a river, which they thought unpassable. This seems to be the *Tame*, which lay directly in the way of the *Romans*, as they directed their march from *Aldchester*; and there being no bridge over it, the *Britains* lay very carelessly encamped behind it: but *Plautius* sending a party of *Germans* to cross it, they being used to swim over the most rapid rivers in their armour, passed it so suddenly, that they surprized the enemy, killing and wounding many of the horses which drew their chariots. The passage being thus opened, *Fl. Vespasian*, afterwards emperor, and his brother *Sabinus*, followed with a body of the *Roman* soldiers: and killing great numbers of the *Britains*, forced them to a retreat. They did not however disperse, but charged the *Romans* the next day so bravely, that the victory was long doubtful; till at last they were obliged to retire, chiefly by the distinguished valour of *C. Sidius Geta*, who was once on the point of being taken, but fought with so much vigour, that triumphal honours were given him, though he was neither consul, nor had the chief command. From thence *Caratacus* retreated to the *Thames*, following the course of the river¹, as it runs to empty itself into the ocean; till he came to a place, where, when it overflows its banks, it leaves a stagnating water behind. There he easily passed the river, as knowing where the ground was firm; though the *Romans* could not follow him without much danger and difficulty. It was ever the first care of a *Roman* general to provide for his convoys of provisions; and *Plautius* not daring to advance into *Caratacus's* territories, and leave the enemy behind him, was necessitated to pass the river likewise; the *Germans* swimming over at the very place, where the ground about it was flooded, and the *Romans* crossing it at a bridge which lay somewhat higher. Thus falling upon the enemy from different quarters, they made a terrible slaughter among them; though not without some loss of their own, by pursuing them unadvisedly into morasses that were unpassable. The loss of four battles, in the last of which *Togodumnus* fell, instead of discouraging the *Britains*, only made them more eager to have their revenge: they prepared for another battle, and *Plautius* dreading the event, thought it best for him to secure what he had already got, without advancing further; and to wait by the side of the *Thames*, till *Claudius* came from *Rome* to his assistance.

THE emperor leaving that metropolis of the world at the latter end of *July* or *August*, and passing through *Gaule*, embarked at *Boulogne*² with a great army: and landing at the *Portus Rutupinus*, or *Sandwich*, marched to the *Thames*, where *Plautius* lay still encamped. The armies being joined, passed the river; the *Britains*, that disputed their passage, being forced to retire: and *Claudius* advancing into the Country of the *Trinovantes*, took *Camulodunum*, the royal seat of *Cunobeline*. This success, and the terror of his numerous forces, brought every day to his camp the submission of some or other of the states of the *Belgic Britains*, seated in the neighbourhood, such as the *Trinovantes*, *Cantii*, *Regni*, and *Atrebates*; for the shortness of his stay did not allow him to receive the like from any people that lay

¹ This I take to be meaning of *Dio's* words, τὸν Ταμίσαν ποταμὸν καθ' ὃ ἔς τε τὸν Ὠκεανὸν ἐκβάλλει, ἰ. ε. κατὰ ποταμὸν, *secundo flumine*.

² *Sueton. Claud. c. 17.*

A. D. 43. more remote: nor did any of the *Old Britains* offer to submit; only the ¹ *Iceni* courted his friendship, and seem to be received as confederates. *Caratacus*, at the head of his *Cattivellauni*, still held out; though he did not care to attack the *Romans* in all their strength, which he knew must soon be lessened by the emperor's departure. *Claudius* having disarmed those that had made their submission, and left them under the government of *Plautius*, with orders to reduce the other *Britains*, set out on his return to *Rome*; where he arrived in the beginning of the year following, having stayed only sixteen days in *Britain*, and spent six ² months in his voyage. Thus easily did he purchase the honours of a triumph, and the title of *Britannicus*, with which he was complimented by the senate: this facility too, and the expedition with which he reduced the kings and nations of *Britain*, and added the *Orkneys* ³ to his empire, are particularly celebrated in the inscription ⁴ dedicated to his honour on those occasions.

THE proper title of the commander in chief, or governor of a province, was *Legatus Augusti*, *Proconsul*, or *Proprætor*, and this belonged to *Plautius*: but each proconsul had sometimes one ⁵, sometimes three assessors; and these being appointed not by himself, as was generally the case in the senatorial provinces, but by the emperor in those under his particular care, might well be termed *Legati Augusti*. Of this last kind was *Fl. Vespasian*, whom *Claudius* made commander of the second legion, and, at his leaving *Britain*, *assumpsit in partem rerum*, as *Tacitus* ⁶ says, giving him a joint commission with the other, and employing him in the reduction of the island. He had here a fine opportunity of displaying his admirable talents for war: and the glory he acquired by a continued series of success, laid the foundation of his future greatness. *Suetonius* ⁷ sums up his exploits in a few words; telling us, that he took above twenty towns, and reduced the *Isle of Wight*, and two of the strongest nations of *Britain* into subjection. This author adds further, that he was present in no less than thirty engagements with the enemy; but in this number are comprehended all that he fought in *Germany*, as well as *Britain*, and in all probability small skirmishes, as well as pitched battles. This passage, however, serves to shew us the particular province assigned to *Vespasian*; it being his business to subdue the *Belgic colonies*, whilst *Plautius* had the much more difficult task of reducing the *Old Britains*. These last, it is well known, had no towns, nor even villages with contiguous houses; perhaps not understanding the art of building, or else choosing to live dispersed, till the *Romans* came amongst them: and then their camps and stations occasioning a continual resort of people thither for the marts which were there kept, towns began to be built in the neighbourhood for the better accommodation of all persons. But the *Belgæ* had been used to dwell in towns before they left *Gaule*; and when they settled in *Britain*, lived here undoubtedly in the same manner; trade, which was their chief business, making it necessary for them to live together near the sea, or upon some great river, and their own security naturally putting them upon the same method, at their arrival in a strange country, where they would, in scattered habitations, have been exposed to many hazards from the rudeness and jealousy of the natives. The *Isle of Wight* was certainly inhabited by the *Belgæ*; and the circumstances of *Claudius's* expedition not allowing room to imagine, that he received the submission of more people than those above-mentioned; *Vespasian* must have had the honour of reducing all the rest of the *Belgic colonies*, from the shires of

¹ *Tacit. Annal.* xii. n. 31.

² c. 17.

³ These isles were probably discovered at this time by *Vespasian*, (to whom the conquest, another name for the discovery thereof, is generally attributed) because they are mentioned by *Mela*,

⁴ *Sueton. Claud.* l. iii. c. 6. who wrote this very year,

⁵ *Britannia Romana*, p. 21.

⁶ *Dio.* l. iii. *Spanheim. de usu Numism.* l. ii. p. 180, 596.

⁷ *Hist.* l. iii. n. 44. *Vit. Agric.* n. 13.

⁸ *Vespas.* c. 4.

Hants, Wilts, and Somerset, to the western extremity of *Cornwall*; for we read of *A. D. 43.* no wars carried on, nor of any disturbance arising in those parts afterwards.

NOR do I apprehend this to have been a work of any great difficulty; and the story of *Vespasian's* danger, being surrounded by a body of the enemy, and rescued in that distress by his son *Titus*, is undoubtedly a gross mistake; *Titus*, who was born the year of *Caligula's* death, on *December 30. A. D. 41.* not being above seven or eight years old, at the time fixed for that noble act of filial piety. All the sea coast, from the promontory of *Kent*, to the *Lands end* of *Cornwall*, was inhabited by the trading part of the *Belgic* colonies; whose interest obliged them to be at peace, and even to be united to the *Roman* empire: so that in all appearance they followed the example of their countrymen, and submitted as readily to *Vespasian*, as the others had done to *Claudius*. This was particularly the case of the *Dumnonii*, who were possessed of *Cornwall*, *Devon*, and the adjoining parts of *Somersetshire*: they drove a great trade with the empire for their tin; and by means of their continual intercourse with the *Romans* on that account, are celebrated, as well as the *Cantii*, by ancient writers, for their politeness and civility much superior to what appeared in any other part of *Britain*. What confirms this, is, that in all those territories of the *Dumnonii*¹, there is not the least vestige of any *Roman* station or encampment; which there must have been, had this people been

¹ It is a common received notion among our antiquaries, that the *Romans* never had any settlement, and that no remains of theirs are to found, in *Cornwall*; and some have carried this notion so far, as even to doubt whether they were ever masters of that country. But this seems to be a great mistake, arising from their want of curiosity to examine into the antiquities of a county, where they were prepossessed with a persuasion, that they should find no such remains. When the *Romans* came hither, it was the richest part of this island, the most beneficial in the revenue of its customs, and consequently the best worth their conquering; and though they had no occasion for garrisons to awe willing and interested subjects into obedience; they must have had there officers to collect the revenue, as well as magistrates to administer justice. And their presidents, counts, and inspectors must likewise from time to time, according to the regular course of the *Roman* government, have visited these as they did other parts, to see every thing in due order, to examine how officers did their duty, and to observe the state of the country. It is the general opinion of the tinnery in that county, that all the tin works, wrought at this day, are only mines originally discovered by the *Romans*, opened first by them, and since carried on to a greater depth under ground, and extended in breadth as the veins or loads of the ore are followed by the miners: and there are remains enough of the *Romans* in those parts to give countenance to this notion.

I was there in the year 1714, and passed six or eight months in the heart of the tin country, between *Truro*, and the *Lands end*; and what I am going to mention, doth not depend only on my memory, but is taken from a letter I wrote at that time to my father, and which I lately found among his papers. About a mile and half beyond *Redruth*, stands the old castle of *Carnbray* on a very craggy hill, opposite to which is another hill, very steep and difficult of ascent. On this last hill there is a prodigious heap of stones, of which some hundred thousand loads are still left, though the gentlemen

in the neighbourhood, as oft as they had occasion for stones, have been continually fetching them from thence, to make use of in their buildings; and the tinnery having been several years employed in building a large *Aquæduet*, or (as they term it) *Audit*, five or six foot high, and more in breadth, for some miles in length through a valley to the north sea, in order to drain the water from a mine of the late Mr. *Fr. Basset's* of *Tehidde*, have carried thence many thousands of loads on that occasion. 'Tis plain, from the order in which these stones are placed, that it is a work of art; but for what end such quantities of stones should be brought thither, appears unaccountable; since not only the height and steepness of the hill, but the distance of the quarry, whence those stones must be fetched, (there not being one of the same nature within three miles of the place) seem to have been sufficient discouragements to any body's forming such a design, or attempting a work that seemed impracticable, and was certainly useless. The *Romans* indeed had such an aversion to idleness in their soldiers, and living in indolence was so uncomfortable a state to men used to action, that, to avoid the *tædium castrorum*, they frequently employed them in works of great difficulty, as well as labour, and of so little use in any other respect, that they appear to us in some instances ridiculous. This perhaps was a work of that kind; for a little before I came into the country, and before the *Aquæduet* was finished, upon drawing off some stones from it, a fine *Roman* urn was discovered, with a cover to it very large; but (as appeared on the breaking of it) having only ashes in it, and one coin of the bigness of a crown piece, with an inscription on it very plain and legible, shewing it to be a medal of *Augustus Cæsar's*. There are, in all quarters of that country, especially in the tin country, a prodigious number of barrows (as they call them) or sepulchral *Tumuli*, still to be seen on every down throughout it; sometimes two, four, and six in a row, sometimes more; as I have seen eleven together at *St. Austell*, and there are no less than twenty-two on a

A. D. 43. reduced by the force of an army, or had it been necessary to keep them in subjection by the terror of a garrison in the heart of their country.' The readiness of their submission, and the manner of its being made without any force of arms, may be, perhaps, the reason why *Suetonius* doth not mention it among the other acts, which contributed to his view of setting forth *Vespasian's* military glory; a view which was better answered by his observing, that this general reduced two of the most powerful nations in *Britain*.

THESE were the *Belgæ* and the *Durotriges*; for though the maritime parts of their territories over-against *Gaule*, in which the mercantile part of these people lived, might submit as willingly as others in the like situation; yet the inland country, being inhabited by different clans or tribes of people, under their several chieftains or princes inured to hunting, and a manner of life not unlike that of the *Old Britains*, were not so easily reduced. They had in those days great advantages for their own defence, and for harassing the *Romans*, afforded them by the vast woods which covered the downs of *Wilts* and *Dorset*, and the *Mendip* hills in *Somerset*, and by the marshes which spread themselves over a great part of the last of these counties; where an infinite number of hardy young fellows were employed as *drovers* or *Ceangi*¹, to take care of their cattle, the chief of their substance in those times, and to drive them from place to place for pasture in the summer. The memory of these *Ceangi* or *Cangi*, is still preserved in those parts in the names of many places², as of the town called *Cauna* in *Domesday*, now *Calne*, of the *Hundred of Cannings*, and a village called, in old writings, *Caningas* in *Wiltshire*, of *Kaingesham*, i. e. the *Mansion of the Cangi*, of the town of *Cangton*, now *Wincaunton*; the *Hundred of Cannington* and *Caningan-Mærce*, in the marshes of *Somersetshire*. *Vespasian* distinguished himself both as a soldier and a commander, and was not in these respects inferior to any of the *Old Romans*; he was wise, vigilant, and circumspect; never rash in running his troops into dangers, but brave and intrepid in the midst of the greatest; which made him extremely beloved by his soldiers. These talents he had abundant occasions to exercise in his wars against the *Cangi*, and other *Belgæ*; the nature of whose country afforded them opportunities enough to surprize a less wary and vigilant ge-

down near *Kellington*, on the *Devonshire* border of the country. Within less than ten years before I was there, a quantity of *Roman* coins, (some of which, by the brightness of their colour, seemed to the workmen that found them, to resemble gold) being dug up in one of these barrows in the fields of *Luggan*, the tanners straight took the alarm: and leaving their mines, fell to work upon the like *Tumuli* in the neighbourhood, striving who should get first to the centre of those heaps, where they expected to find a concealed treasure. But great was their disappointment, when, in the middle of them all, they found only a little building of stone like an oven, in which was inclosed sometimes one, sometimes more, and in one of them nine urns, with ashes in them all; but not so many with coins in them, as there were of those which had none at all. I have seen a great number of the coins there found upon this occasion; which were shewn me by the late Mr. *Walter Quarme*, rector of *Falmouth*, Mr. *Thomas Tonkin* of *Trevannance*, then member of parliament for *Helfton*, and by others, who were curious enough to preserve them; particularly many of the coins of *Claudius*, *Nerva*, *Hadrian*, *Antoninus Pius*, *Lucius Verus*, *Lucilla*, and *Faustina*. None later than these were found in those urns and barrows; yet in other places of the country, they frequent-

ly meet with coins of later emperors, thrown up as they are ploughing in the fields; and a considerable number have been likewise found in a round ball of earth, to which there was no opening, and which was placed in the midst of a large stone or rock, known by the name of the *Giants rock*, in a field near *St. Ives*. This rock, about eight years before I was there, being broken in pieces by the owner of the field, in order to the carrying of it away, for the more convenient ploughing of the ground, they discovered in the heart of it, the ball of earth above-mentioned, and found in it several coins of *Valentinian*, *Valens*, *Gratian*, *Honorius*, and *Arcadius*, besides others of *Maximus*, and the like assumers of the purple in *Britain*. Besides these, I have seen found in other places of the country, coins of *Carausius*, *Allectus*, (particularly that with a ship on the reverse, which Mr. *Selden* mentions in his *Mare Clausum*, to prove the sovereignty of the *British* seas) and other usurpers here; and the like coins of the latter *Claudius*, *Quintillus*, *Gallienus*, *Constantinus Chlorus*, *Constantine the Great*, and his son *Constantine*, and of all the succeeding emperors, to *Valentinian* the third inclusive.

¹ *Baxter's Gloss. Brit. v. CEANGI.*

² *Camden in Somerset.*

neral: but he seems to have reduced them entirely in *A. D.* 49. and though he staid longer in *Britain*, (for he did not return to *Rome* till *A. D.* 51. when he received the ornaments of a triumph, and was made consul for the two last months of that year) he probably employed his time in settling the country he had reduced; for which he was admirably qualified; his conduct in the administration of *Africa*, and other provinces that he governed, shewing, that none understood provincial government better. The many *Roman* encampments, still to be seen in various parts of the counties of *Wilts*, *Dorset*, and *Somerset*, some of which are by received tradition deemed to be his, and bear an affinity to his name, particularly to the two last syllables of it, (as the two near *Yaneshborough* in *Wiltshire*) are so many monuments of the wars he carried on with those people; and we cannot have a mean opinion of the wisdom of his regulations after he had subdued them, when we consider, that they never afterwards offered to revolt, but living in peace themselves, furnished the *Romans* with soldiers, to reduce the more northern provinces of this island, possessed by the *Old Britains* ¹.

PLAUTIUS had greater difficulties to encounter in his war against the *Old Britains*; who were headed by a chieftain, that was the glory of their nation, and excellently qualified, as well to animate by his example, as to direct by his counsels, the measures proper to be taken for the defence of the liberties of his country. *Caratacus* ² was a prince of very good natural parts, high spirit, great abilities, and of a wonderful constancy, resolution and magnanimity: he was active, indefatigable, vigilant, and enterprising, full of that noble ardour, and those generous sentiments, which inspire the conduct, and form the mind, of an hero. His genius led him naturally to war; and this being improved by experience, he had arrived to a degree of military skill, that could not well be expected from a person in so remote a corner of the world, unused to foreign wars, and utterly unacquainted with the arts and practice of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. Inured to hardships, he was

¹ I fix *Vespasian's* victories over the *Cangi*, and his reduction of the *Belgæ* and *Durotriges* to *A. D.* 49. when *Pompeius Longinus Gallus* and *Q. Veranius Nepos* were consuls, upon the credit due to the oblong table of lead turned up by the plough near *Ochy Hole* in *Somersetshire* in the reign of *Henry VIII.* and the medal of *Claudius* mentioned by *Camden*, on the reverse of which is stamped a triumphal arch with the image of one galloping on horse back, and two triumphal pillars, as so many trophies of victory over the *Britains*; the words *DE BRITAN.* being inscribed both on the leaden table and on the reverse of the medal. I am sensible I differ in this point from several very learned men, who place these victories over the *Cangi* and *Britains* so late as the times of *Ostorius*; but the inscriptions both on the face of the medal, and on the table of lead, concur in fixing it to the ninth year of *Claudius's* *Tribunitian* power, and the sixteenth time of his being declared *Imperator*. Now *Claudius* coming to the empire in the beginning of *A. D.* 41. (on the death of *Caligula*, who was slain *Jan.* 24) the ninth year of his reign, which was also the ninth of his *Tribunitian* power, must be *A. D.* 49. He was consul for the fourth time *A. D.* 47, and in the inscriptions of that year ^b is represented as *Imperator*, for the 12th, 13th, 14th and 15th times, probably on account of *Corbulo's* victo-

ries over the *Chauci* and *Frisians*. He took the title of *Imperator* for the 16th time in the year 49, ^c either upon his reducing *Mithridates* king of the *Bosphorus*, which brought no accession of territory to his dominions, or on account of *Vespasian's* victories in this island; and it is most reasonable to think the latter was the true occasion; because the adding of *Britain* to the empire, was the reason why *Claudius* increased the *Pomerium* of the city of *Rome*, by taking in *Mount Aventin*; the enlarging the bounds of the city being a peculiar privilege of such as enlarged the dominions of the empire. This, ^d *Tacitus* tells us, was done this very year, agreeable to the inscription still preserved at *Rome* and quoted by *Lipsius*, which was erected on that occasion; and attests that *Rome* was thus enlarged by *Claudius*, when he was *Imperator* the sixteenth time, and in the ninth of his *Tribunitian* power^e. These are my reasons for fixing *A. D.* 49. as the time of *Vespasian's* completing his conquest of the *Belgæ*, *Durotriges*, and the *Cangi*, and reducing their countries as well as those that lay further west, into the form of a province.

² His *Welsh* name is *Caradoc*, perhaps, from *Gearait*, wise, prudent, experienced; (see *Irish Dict.* in *Arch. Brit.* v. *GEARAIT*) and *Tog*, dus, or general.

^a *Camd. ib.*
Onufr. Fast. p. 207.

^b *Goltz. p.* 41. c. 6. *Onufr. Fast.* p. 100.

^c *Goltz. ib.*

^d *Tacit. Ann.* 12. n. 23. *Lips. in loc.*

^e The whole inscription runs thus, TI. CLAVDIVS. DRVSI. F. CAESAR. AVG. GERMANICVS. PONT. MAX. TRIB. POT. VIII. IMP. XVI. COSS. III. CENSOR. PP. AVCTIS. POPVLI. ROMANI. FINIEVS. POMERIVM. AMPLIAVIT. TERMINAVIT. Q.

A. D. 49. able to bear any fatigue, was intrepid in the midst of danger; eager for action, but still with judgment; taking care to have some advantage of ground and situation, if not of numbers on his side; never dejected in adversity, nor daunted by a defeat, but the very day after he had been worsted, ready for another engagement. He saw his *Britains* inferior to the *Romans*, both in their arms and discipline, and consequently an unequal match for them in a pitched battle: he for this reason carefully avoided coming to a general action; but never missed an opportunity of surprizing or attacking them on a sudden; and scarce allowing them time to breath, harassed them continually with skirmishes in lesser parties. In this manner, at the head of his *Cattuvellauni* alone, unassisted by any other of the *British* nations, he held out longer than all the mighty force of united *Gaule*, once thought too great for any thing human to resist, had done, against the power of the *Roman* empire. *Plautius* was a wise, brave, and experienced general; but besides the *Dobuni*, *Anca-lites*, and *Trinovantes*, states of the *Belgic Britains*, who, glad of the opportunity of throwing off the yoke of the *Cattuvellauni*, to whom they had been lately made vassals, had submitted to *Claudius*, he does not seem to have subdued any other *British* states, or to have made any great progress against *Caratacus* in the four years that his government lasted. He had probably in that time reduced *Hertfordshire*, and carried the *Roman* arms into the lower countries of *Bedford* and *Northampton*; but had not secured the possession of them by forts, when, upon his success in some more considerable engagements than ordinary, he returned to *Rome* in *A. D. 47*,¹ had great honours done him by the emperor, and was allowed the lesser kind of triumph, called the *Ovatio*. The person who succeeded him immediately in his government, is not mentioned either by *Tacitus* or *Dio*; but whoever he was, or whether the war was managed only by the legates of the legions, *Caratacus* seems to have gained some advantages, and to have recovered a good part of his territories, before the next consular legate came over.

A. D. 50. IT was in *A. D. 50*; when *C. Antistius Vetus* and *M. Suius Nervilius* were consuls, that *P. Ostorius Scapula* an active and experienced general, was sent over into *Britain*; and found the affairs of his province in great confusion. The season for action was almost over, and the winter beginning when he arrived here: yet as the enemy were ravaging the lands of the allies of the *Romans*, probably of the *Dobuni*, he drew out a body of forces immediately, and falling upon them, when they little expected such an attack from a new commander, at the head of troops to which he was as yet a stranger, gained a compleat victory over them, and either killed or dispersed their whole army. His next care was to provide for the security of the *Roman* conquests, and to guard against all surprizes and sudden attacks, to which his forces might be exposed, either through the vigilance of an enterprising and restless enemy, or the infidelity and malignity of allies unfit to be trusted. This he did by a line or *Prætentura* of forts and garrisons, which he planted along the *Anton* or *Nen* in *Northamptonshire*, and on the banks of the *Severne*; and by disarming all suspected persons: which he seems not only to have done in the countries reduced by the *Romans*, but to have attempted likewise in those of their allies. Such were the *Iceni*, a powerful nation, who had suffered nothing by the war; having hitherto lived in amity and kept the alliance, which they had voluntarily entered into with *Claudius*: but now, incensed at this usage, they were the first that refused to deliver up their arms; and² calling in the neighbouring nations to their assistance, took the field with an army. *Ostorius*, neither allowing them time to receive further reinforcements, nor waiting the coming up of his own legions, marched against them immediately with his auxiliary troops;

¹ *Dio*, l. lx. p. 685. *Sueton Claud.* c. 24.

² *Tacit. Ann.* xii. n. 31, 32. *Vit. Agric.* n. 14. forced

forced them in their intrenchments after an obstinate combat: and making a terrible slaughter among them, struck by this seasonable blow a terror into the nations that were wavering, and kept them from breaking out into open hostilities. It was probably on this occasion, that he planted a colony of veteran soldiers at *Camulodunum*, the most advanced town of the *Trinovantes* towards the borders of the *Iceni*; who inhabited the eastern counties, which afterwards composed the kingdom of the *East Angles*; in order to awe that potent people, and prevent their making incursions into the countries on that side, subject to the *Romans*. For the better security of the *Roman* conquests in another quarter on the side of the *Severne*, against the *Silures*, *Cogiduvnus*¹, king (as his name imports) of the *Dobuni*, in the shires of *Gloucester* and *Oxford*, was not only allowed to keep his own principality; but had also other people of the *Belgic* colonies put under his government. These were probably the *Regni* (among whom his authority is attested by the inscription found *A. D.* 1723, at *Chichester*) and the *Atrebates*, who lay between them and the *Dobuni*. These people, who had been so forward in contributing to the glory of *Claudius* by their free and early submission to him, might naturally desire to be governed by a *Belgic Britain* like themselves: and it was good policy likewise in the *Romans* to gratify them in their request, and allow them to enjoy their own laws and customs, till they came to be better acquainted with those of the empire. It was the very method, which *Julius Cæsar* had taken to reduce *Gaule*, and to divide the nations that inhabited it; putting his own creatures at the head of some of their greatest states, and thus engaging them to assist him with their forces against the others, till they were all at last in their turn subdued: nor had it a less effect in *Britain*; where the assistance of the *Belgic* colonies was of singular service to the *Romans* in the reducing of the *Old Natives*.

COGIDUVNUS seems to have been a young man, when this confidence was placed in him; which might be done the more safely, because of the animosities that reigned between those different sets of *Britains*, and of the particular injuries he had received in his own territories from the *Cattuvellauni*. Nor was he unfaithful to his trust; but during the fifty years he lived afterwards, till the time of *Trajan* and *Tacitus*, he continued always firmly attached to the *Romans*, even in the worst circumstances of their affairs. It may still be questioned, whether he governed his additional dominions by the title of king, or by that of *Legatus Augusti*, given him in the *Chichester* inscription, as well as the name of *Tiberius Claudius Cogiduvnus*. This last shews that he was a citizen of *Rome*, and had been made so by the favour of the emperor *Claudius*; it being usual, in such cases, to assume the *prenomen* and family name of those, who, by their instances and protection, had procured any to be made denizens². It must be observed that *Julius Cæsar*, to gain the princes and nobility of *Gaule*, had given all of them the *jus civitatis*; and *A. D.* 47. *Claudius* had given them likewise the *jus senatorum*; so that they were all capable of being admitted to the highest offices and dignities in the empire. This was a point that he seems to have had much at heart; and the general edict for that purpose was carried in the senate by the weight of his interposition, and of a speech he made on that occasion; the substance of which is preserved by *Tacitus*³. When *Claudius* had, three years before *Ostorius* came into *Britain*, thus qualified the *Gallic* nobility in general for the highest charges and offices of state, even in *Rome* itself, it cannot be thought, that, when he was mind-

¹ From *Cæny* lordship, rule, dominion, &c. (See *Lloyd's Archaeol. Brit.* in the *Welsh* words omitted in *Dr. Davies's Dictionary*) and *Dobuni*, a word latinized from *Duffen*, or *Duon*, i. e. low,

expressing their situation in the vales of *Oxford* and *Gloucester* shires.

² *Cicero Ep. Familiar.* l. xiii. *Ep.* 36, 37.

³ *Tacit. Ann.* xi. n. 23, 24, 25.

A. D. 51. ed to shew favour to a *British* prince, he should treat him with less regard, than a common nobleman in *Gaule*; especially when this prince was capable of rendering him great services in the conquest of *Britain*; his favourite scheme, that was designed to be the distinguishing glory of his reign. I see, therefore, no incongruity in supposing that he communicated to *Cogidumnus* the *jus senatorum*, as well as *civitatis*, and gave him a commission to act in the countries committed to his care as a *Legatus Augusti*, the title he bears in the *Chichester* inscription.

OSTORIUS, having thus provided for the security of the provinces, during his absence, resolved to advance into the enemies country. The ¹*Cornavii* of *Shropshire*, and the *Cori-ceni*, or lesser *Iceni*, (who are by the translator of *Ptolemy*, called *Coritani*, and by Mr. Baxter, ²*Corigauni*,) were clients to the other *Iceni*, or at least united with them by a coalition or confederacy of their several tribes and communities; and consequently were the likeliest people to have joined them in their

¹ The general name of the old *Britains*, the first inhabitants of this island, who for that reason are by *Cæsar* called *Aborigines*, was *Brigantes* or *Britanni*; and the different communities thereof were distinguished by particular denominations, derived either from their situation, or their manner of life and business. Thus those who lived on the banks of the river *Gad*, now called *Sed*, were called *Gadeni*; those who inhabited the part of *Shropshire*, and the neighbouring country, lying north and east of the *Severne*, where this river makes a winding, and changeth its course from east to south, were named *Cornavii*, from *Kern* or *Corn* (*cornu* or *vertex*) and *Av* (*aqua*, *flumen*, or *mare*) the same name being also for that reason given to other people as well in *Cornwall* as in the north of *Scotland*: So the inhabitants of the forest of *Dene*, *Herefordshire*, and *South-wales*, were from their dwelling in woods (*Coil* in *Irish*) called *Coilures*, i. e. *viri sylvestres*, and by a change frequent enough of *C* into *S*, *Silures*. *Tacitus* tells us, that the chief or sole employment of the *Iceni* was the feeding of their cattle, in which all their substance, and what traffic they had, consisted; and they had such an utter aversion to agriculture, that the *Romans* obliging them to till the ground, was the general grievance, which contributed most to provoke them to an insurrection under *Boadicea*. From this employment of theirs, and from *Yehen* (oxen or cows in which they chiefly dealt) they were, as I conceive, called *Iceni*, as a part of them that lived in the *Fenns*, and drove their cattle from place to place, as the nature of the soil and the season of the year directed, were termed *Girvii*, i. e. *actores pecudum*. The *Cor-ceni* lived higher within the land than the *Iceni*; their country afforded very good pasture for sheep as well as oxen, with both which they supplied the *Romans*, and *Cor* signifying a sheep, or *Gor*, *super*, above, they had probably their name given them for one or other of these reasons. The forest of *Ar-dene* running through *Warwick* and *Herefordshire*, and the like forests spreading themselves in *Shropshire* beyond the *Severne*, and into the mountainous parts of *North-wales*, afforded excellent passage for hogs, an article much more considerable in *England* formerly than it is now; though great droves of these animals are still brought every year from these parts to *London*: and from *Hieb*, a hog, I suppose the inhabitants of *Herefordshire*, and the bordering parts of the adjoining counties, who lived under the government of a single prince, called thence by *Tacitus Fen-utius*, derived their name of *Huic-*

cii; as those who inhabited beyond *Severne*, as well in *Shropshire* as in *North-wales*, continuing in the ancient independent state of clans, uncontrolled by any single superior or monarch, were styled, *Ord-uices* or the free *Huicci*. Mr. Baxter, who, in *Gloss. Ant. Brit. v. ORDUICES*, says *Ordb* signifies free, ascribes the same meaning to the *British* word *Changon*, though *on* being a plural termination, he interprets this last word by the *Latin clientelares*, a term which implies some dependence upon others; though as to servitude it was a thing unknown in *Britain*. I cannot, on this occasion help expressing my wonder, why he did not derive the name *Gangi* from this word rather than from *Ceang*, *ramus*, they being (as he says) the *pastoritia pubes*: For I cannot but think that they took care of the cattle of others as well as their own, and might on that account be rightly enough termed *clientelares*. They were known by this name in most quarters of this island, as well among the *Belgic*, as the old, *Britains*; and were a sort of *drovers* employed in keeping cattle and driving them from place to place to pastures proper for the seasons, like the *Nomades* in other parts of the world, without any fixed habitation; being sheltered from the weather, only by such miserable huts, as they raised on a sudden to serve them for the short time of their stay, as they are described by *Strabo*. They were a lusty and hardy set of men, in great numbers; and when it was necessary to change their pastures, they removed in large bodies and droves. It was perhaps from hence, that among an infinite number of *English* words derived from the *British*, came the term *Gang*, to express a crew or company of people, and *Ganging* to denote the removing of persons, especially in numbers, from one place to another. The word seems originally derived from the *Belgic* *Gan*, or *Gangon*, i. e. *vadere*, *migrare*, *proficisci*. See *Wachter's Glossar. Germ. in v. GAN-GEN*. It was for the same reason, that the *British* inhabitants of *Wales*, continuing this practice of removing their cattle and habitations from place to place (which is still practised in some mountainous parts, and was universally so in former ages) after the custom was disused in *England*, were called *Wallenses*, not from *Wealth* a stranger, (a very improper term for the original inhabitants) but from *Walen*, which as well as *Walones*, *Wandali*, *Wandlen*, were words synonymous to that of *Nomades*, as *Grotius* has shewn in *Prelegom. ad Hist. Gothorum*, p. 25.

² *Gloss. Brit. v. CORICENI and CORNAVII.*

late revolt and invasion of the *Roman* territories. The latter inhabited (besides *A. D. 51.* part of *Northamptonshire*, of which the *Romans* were masters) the counties of *Leicester*, *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, and *Derby*; most of which last, and perhaps the forests and woodlands of *Staffordshire*, served their *Ceangi*, or the numerous bands of their herdsmen, for the pasture of their cattle; there being some remains of their name in the town and heath of *Cannock*, and in *Cankwood*; which is still a considerable tract of ground, and formerly took up a great part of that county. These *Cangi* making the chief strength of those people, *Ostorius* marched directly against them with an army which they durst not engage: and though whenever an advantage offered, they fell upon his rear, they were still repulsed with loss in every attack. The *Cangi*¹ of the *Cornavii* lay contiguous to those of the *Cor-ikeni* or *Corigauni*, and spread themselves from *Staffordshire* all over *Cheshire*; countries affording very proper pastures for their droves of cattle, but without any towns or places of defence; so that the *Romans* wasting the fields, and carrying off all the cattle they found in their marshes, advanced within sight of the *Irish* sea, probably on the coast of *Denbighshire* and *Flint*, as far as the promontory of *Ganoc*, near *Conway*, and perhaps into the peninsula of *Wirral*, where² *Baxter* places another promontory of the *Cangani*, different from that in *Carnarvanshire*. *Ostorius* was called thence by a sedition that arose among the *Brigantes*, which it was necessary to suppress in time, lest all that populous nation should be drawn into the war against him: his celerity contributed to his success, and by the death of a few who had taken arms, all the rest remained quiet. It is probable this was not done without an engagement; because there is still seen a *Roman* encampment on a moor near *Finningley*, a little off the road from *Littleborough* to *Doncaster*, on the borders of *Hatfield* forest, which served for a fastness to the *Britains*; who sallying out to hinder the *Romans* from burning and destroying the woods, a battle ensued; the memorial whereof, as well as of the general that commanded, is preserved to this day in the name of an adjoining town called from thence *Ostorfield*².

NEITHER clemency and mildness, nor severity and terror could work on the *Silures*; a powerful, hardy, and warlike nation, inhabiting beyond the *Severne*, in the shires of *Hereford*, *Monmouth*, and the adjoining provinces of *Southwales*. *Caratacus*, driven out of his own dominions, and not succeeding in the commotions he hoped to raise among the *Brigantes*, retired thither with the remains of his forces: and drew them into the war against the *Romans*, who, in hopes of quelling them as easily as the *Brigantes*, marched immediately to attack them, passing through *Shropshire*, the readiest way from *Cheshire* to *Herefordshire*, the chief seat of the *Silures*, and the only convenient one at that time, when all other roads were intercepted by vast forests that seemed unpassable. *Ostorius* took his legionary troops with him in this expedition: and *Caratacus*, whose military skill and great reputation, procured him the chief command of the *British* forces, being too weak to fight him in the field, and yet thinking it proper to keep the country of the *Silures* from being made the seat of war, passed the river *Teme*, which parts *Herefordshire* from *Shropshire*; and being there reinforced by such of the *Ordovices* (who possessed the part of this last county which lies beyond *Severne*) as were against all accommodation with the *Romans*, posted his army in a very advantageous situation. *Tacitus* describes the place as every way favourable to the *Britains*, but very difficult of access for the *Romans*, if they were to make an attack, and full as inconvenient for them in case of a retreat; it being seated on a high mountain, the most accessible part of which was fortified with a wall of

¹ *Gloss. Antiq. Brit.* v. CEANGI.² *Philosophical Transactions*, n. 275.

A. D. 51. stones, as the foot of it was washed by a river, guarded by the choicest of his troops, and not easy to be forded. It cannot be improper here to observe, that where the river *Colun*¹ falls into the *Teme*, among several dangerous fords, there ariseth an hill accessible, but at one place, and called to this day *Caer-Caradoc*.
 “ On the top of this hill is a large camp, the trenches whereof are very deep,
 “ though the soil is an hard rock; the rampires are walled, but the wall is now
 “ covered with earth, which being removed a little, the stones appear. It is
 “ situated on the eastern point of a very steep hill, and hath no access, but from a
 “ plain on the west, where it is fenced with an high treble rampire, and is thrice
 “ as long as it is broad. There is also a narrow passage out of it towards the
 “ east, upon the very pitch of the hill; the north side thereof is fortified with
 “ a deep and double trench, but on the south it hath only a single trench, because
 “ the steepness of that side of the hill is of itself a good defence.” The name
 of this encampment, the description of the place so agreeable to that of *Tacitus*;
 the *Roman Tumuli* and camps still to be seen on the *Shropshire* side of the *Teme*, and
 the *British* camp about three miles off, on the *Herefordshire* side of that river, al-
 low no room to doubt, but that *Colun* or *Clun* was the river which the *Romans* were
 to pass, and could not ford without danger, and that this was the place of that me-
 morable battle, which is here to be related.

CARATACUS drew up his army, according to the *Clans* of which it was com-
 posed; each chieftain being placed at the head of his own vassals, and encourag-
 ing his men by every motive that could inspire resolution. Nor was the General
 wanting in this respect, going from rank to rank to put them in mind, that the
 enjoyment of their liberty, or an eternal slavery depended on the fate of that day;
 which the whole army answered with a general huzza, and every clan vowed in
 the several forms used by each, when they devoted themselves, that they would
 not give way in any danger or extremity whatever. *Ostorius* was a little startled
 at this alacrity of the enemy, and at the difficulties which the river, the moun-
 tain, and the rampires, put in the way of an attack: but his soldiers appearing
 extremely eager for action, he passed the river without much difficulty, and mount-
 ing the hill, advanced to the rampires. These being made of loose ill-compacted
 stones, without any cement, were easily thrown down by the *Romans*; who form-
 ing with their shields a *testudo*, to guard them from the enemies darts, soon broke
 into the camp; the *Britains* retiring to the top of the mountain. There a bloody
 combat ensued to the great disadvantage of the *Britains*; who having neither coats
 of mail nor helmets, and but little use of their javelins in a close engagement,
 were over-powered by the *Romans*; who made a terrible slaughter among them,
 and gained a compleat victory.

IN this action *Caratacus's* wife and daughter were taken, and his brothers sur-
 rendered themselves: nor did he meet with a better fate, though he escaped from
 the field of battle. For taking refuge in the territories of *Cartismandua*, queen of
 the *Brigantes*, (who is by some thought to have been his step-mother, and widow
 of *Cunobeline*) she treacherously seized his person, and delivered him up in chains
 to the *Romans*, in the ninth year after the war had commenced in *Britain*, i. e.
 either *A. D. 51*, when that year began, or *A. D. 52*, when it ended. The
 fame of his great exploits had spread not only over the neighbouring isles, but
 over the continent as far as *Italy*, where every body longed to see a man who
 had withstood the power of the empire for so many years, and whose captivity
 was deemed as great a glory to the *Romans*, as the taking of *Syphax*, king of *Nu-*
midia, or of *Perseus*, king of *Macedon*. His entry into *Rome* was made with great

¹ *Camd. Britan. Ed. 1723. Shropshire.*

solemnity ; the people being invited to see the pomp of the spectacle ; the pretorian cohorts under arms, drawn out to line the plain through which he marched in procession, with his wife, daughter, brothers, vassals, and all the spoils taken in war, to the throne on which the emperor was seated. There, without any dejection of countenance, or sueing for pity in words unworthy of his dignity, he addressed himself to *Claudius* in the following harangue : “ If my moderation in
 “ prosperity had been answerable to my birth and fortune, I should have come
 “ into this city rather as a friend, than a captive ; nor would you have disdained
 “ an alliance with a prince, descended of noble ancestors, and ruling over several
 “ nations. My present condition, disgraceful as it is to myself, is yet glorious to
 “ you : I had horses, vassals, arms, and riches ; Can it be a wonder that I should
 “ part with them unwillingly ? But if you resolve to make your empire universal,
 “ all nations must of course become your subjects. If I had submitted readily,
 “ my fate would have been less remarkable, and your glory less eminent. If you
 “ put me to death, the grave will soon bury me for ever in oblivion : but if you
 “ save me alive, I shall be an everlasting monument of your clemency.” The strong sense, the magnanimity, and noble sentiments expressed in this speech, joined to the address, the courage, and firmness that appeared in all the behaviour of *Caratacus*, struck the whole audience : and made such an impression on *Claudius*, that he set him and his family at liberty. As every thing relating to so great man deserves notice, I cannot forbear mentioning the reflection, which *Zonaras*¹ observes he made upon viewing the city, and admiring the beauties of *Rome*, “ nothing, (he said) “ surprizing him so much, as that the *Romans*, who had such magnificent
 “ palaces of their own, should envy the wretched cabbins of the *Britains*.” It is however full as surprizing, that the compiler of the romance rather than history, translated by *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, should so little consult the honour of his country, as not to mention *Caratacus* ; and thus pass by a real hero, in order to substitute in his stead a fictitious one, who never had a being, but in the imagination of that fabulous writer : who, from a passage in *Juvenal*, ill understood, hath taken occasion to change a term merely² appellative, and denoting an *eminent chieftain*, or a *chief commander* of an army, into the proper name of *Arviragus*, and to assign the time of *Claudius* for events, that were only predicted in the reign of *Domitian*.

THE victory over *Caratacus* procured *Ostorius* the triumphal ornaments ; but proved in a manner the last instance of his good fortune : for whether that success made the *Romans* more secure and negligent, as if all the danger of war was over, when *Caratacus* was taken, or the treacherous seizure and undeserved calamity of so great a prince, fired the *Britains* with revenge, these last gained several advantages over the enemy. They made a sudden attack on a field marshal, who had been left with a body of legionary cohorts, to build forts in the country of the *Sihures* : and would have cut them all in pieces, if succours had not been sent immediately from the nearest stations ; the marshal however was killed, with eight centurions, and the bravest of the cohorts. They soon after defeated the *Roman* foragers, and the cavalry that escorted them ; nor could the light-armed cohorts, which *Ostorius* sent to their assistance, stop their flight : and though bringing up his legions, he renewed the battle, the *Britains* maintained it with little loss till night came on, and then retired. This battle was followed by an infinite number of skirmishes in forests, woods, and marshes, as chance and opportunities

¹ P. 186.

² *Arviragus*, a latinized word for *Arduraght*, i. e. the chief head of a clan, or principal chieftain, from *Ard*, high, and *Bracht*, a support : or *Vraight*, a potentate ; the chieftains of

the *Irish* septs being still to this day, called *Vraights*, as *Camden* tells us in *Brit. Ireland*, *Colerane* ; see *Lhuyd's Archaeol. Brit. in Irish, English Dictionary*.

A. D. 51. offered, with various success; in all which the *Silures* distinguished themselves by their eagerness for action, and violent animosity against the *Romans*, occasioned by a rash word which dropped from the *Proprætor*; threatening them with utter extirpation, and *transplanting* them like the *Sicambri* into another country. They cut off two auxiliary cohorts, that were roving about the country for plunder; and distributing the booty and captives among the neighbouring nations, were drawing them into a revolt; when *Ostorius* died, worn out with a continued series of care and anxiety. *Claudius* lost no time in dispatching *A. Didius Gallus* to succeed him in a province, which lying remote, being newly reduced, and subject to disturbances, it was dangerous to leave a moment without a governor: but whatever haste *Didius* made to his province, he found the affairs there in no good condition; the legion commanded by *Manlius Valens* having been defeated by the *Silures*, who ravaged all the countries about them, till the legate's arrival obliged them to retire.

A. D. 53. THESE were not the only enemies he had upon his hands; for he found himself involved in a very troublesome affair: which, if it had not actually broke out into a war, had at least laid the foundation of one in the time of his predecessor. *Venutius*¹ the head, prince, or chieftain of the *Uiccii* or *Vigantes*, (called erroneously *Jugantes* by the transcribers of *Tacitus*) a people in confederacy with the *Iceni*, and inhabiting the counties of *Warwick* and *Worcester*, had gained a great reputation for his military skill: and after the taking of *Caratacus*, was deemed the best commander in *Britain*. He had hitherto been attached to the *Romans*, had done them services, and been supported by them on occasion. It was probably by their protection and influence, that his match was concluded with queen *Cartismandua*; and the power he had acquired by that marriage, might have enabled him to keep the *Brigantes* quiet; notwithstanding all the endeavours of *Caratacus* to engage them in the war, and the disturbance raised with that view by some of their clans; which however was soon quelled (as hath been observed) by the help of *Ostorius*. This marriage was not followed with all the harmony which ought ever to attend such an union: but no dissension brake out till after *Cartismandua* had, by the seizing of *Caratacus*, ingratiated herself so with the *Romans*, that her credit with them increased her power, and she thought herself sure of their support in any exigence. This encouraged her to proceed to an open breach with her husband; and that rupture produced a war, which was carried on at first between themselves and their *British* adherents, till she found means, by her intrigues, to get the brother, and nearest relations of *Venutius* into her power. This aggravating the occasion of the quarrel, strengthened the husband's party, whose treatment was generally resented; and he entering full of fury into her territories with a choice body of troops, she was obliged to call in the *Romans* to her assistance. *Didius*, too old or unactive to take the field himself, or not caring to risque the reputation he had already gained, managed the war by his lieutenants: and sending first some auxiliary cohorts, and soon after *Cesius Nasica*, with his legion, to her assistance, several battles were fought with a doubtful event, though rather to the advantage of the *Romans*.

Under Nero. V. THIS *Tacitus* relates as a summary of what passed in this quarrel from *A. D. 53.* in which *Ostorius* seems to have died, and *A. D. 58.* when *Veranius* succeeded *Didius*: what followed afterwards was very fatal to *Cartismandua*. Elated with the support she found from the *Romans*, or impatient to gratify an irregular passion, which probably was the ground of the aversion she shewed to

¹ *Baxter's Gloss. Brit. v. ICENI, JUGANTES, GUICCI, VENUTIUS.*

her husband, she ventured to marry *Vellocatus*, the captain of her guards, or general of her forces; a step which alienating the minds of her subjects, soon proved her ruin. *Venutius* hoping much from their disaffection levied, with the assistance of his allies, a considerable army, with which he made another attempt upon her dominions: and the *Brigantes*, in general, declaring in his favour, he soon made himself master of the greatest part of her territories. The *Romans* did not fail to come to her succour: but all they could do was to save her person from being taken; *Venutius* remaining in possession of her kingdom, and they, by intermeddling in the dispute, having lost in him a serviceable friend, got an irreconcilable enemy, and entailed a dangerous war upon themselves.

DIDRUS had contented himself with preserving what the *Romans* were already masters of in *Britain*:¹ but *Veranius*, more active or more ambitious than his predecessor, proposed nothing less than the reduction of the whole island. He began with some little incursions into the country of the *Silures*: but dying in less than a year, left his vast project unexecuted. He was succeeded by *Suetonius Paulinus*,² the first of the *Romans* that ever passed mount *Atlas*, and carried their arms to the banks of the *Niger*, and superior in the art of war³ to most generals of the age; no body having reputation enough to dispute that character with him, except *Corbulo*; the glory of whose conquests in *Armenia*, he was desirous to eclipse by greater in *Britain*. Success attended him for the two first years of his government in all his expeditions; in which having reduced some nations, (which *Tacitus*⁴ doth not mention, but were probably some clans of the *Ordovices*,) and secured his conquests by strong garrisons, he advanced to the isle of *Mona* or *Anglesey*, which served for a retreat to the enemies of the *Romans*. It was separated from the rest of *Britain* by a narrow channel: but he had provided a number of flat bottomed vessels to transport his foot; and there was a convenient ford, or shallow, at which the horse, by swimming a little way, might easily pass over to a part of the opposite shore, where there was good landing.

THIS place⁵ seems to have been, where the tradition of the country reports it, near *Porthamel*, in the parish of *Llanidan*, the channel being there narrower than in any other part; the *Welsh* names of the place where the vessels touched the shore, and of the field where the battle was fought, still preserving a memorial of those actions: and this, being confirmed by the remains of a *Roman* camp, *British* weapons, bones and ashes, a large *Tumulus*, and the coins of *Claudius* there found, leaves little room for doubt in the matter. Here *Suetonius* attempting to pass with his forces, found the shore lined with a numerous army of *Britains* well provided with arms, and another body of *Druids* of both sexes, that made a very different figure; the women running about, like furies, in a mournful habit; their hair waving on their shoulders, and flaming torches in their hands; the men lifting up their hands to heaven, and pouring out dreadful execrations against their enemies. The *Roman* soldiers unused to fear on other occasions, were struck with the strangeness of the sight; which had rather the appearance of sacred ceremonies, than of a military behaviour: and stopping short, stood motionless as statues, exposed to the darts of the *Britains*, and receiving wounds without thinking, either of guarding their bodies, or of advancing forward. Thus⁶ at the siege of *Barcelona*, *A. D.* 1715. when the late general *Dillon* had carried the place by storm, and planted his men on the top of the breach, not suffering them to advance further into the town, (which, in such a case, it would have been impossible

¹ *Tacit. Ann.* xiv. n. 29.

² *Plin.* l. v. c. 1.

³ *Tacit. Hist.* ii. n. 31.

⁴ *Vit. Agric.* n. 14.

⁵ *Mon. Antiq.* p. 85. and *Camden's Anglesey*.

⁶ This relation I had from general *Dillon* him-

self, who had sixteen officers of his name out of his own regiment killed that day, either in these attacks, or by fire from the houses near the breach.

A. D. 61. to save, according to the king of *Spain's* orders, from being plundered,) after they had been posted there some hours, a body of *Capucins*, and other religious, with their gowns tucked up, a broad sword in one hand, a cross in the other, and the hoste carried in solemn pomp before them, advancing to attack them, the *Irish* of the general's own regiment, that never before turned their backs to an enemy, surprized at this religious, rather than warlike parade, quitted the breach without striking a blow, in spite of all his exhortations; and it was some time before he could re-assure, and bring them on to a second storm; which made them masters again of the place, after the loss of half his regiment.

THE *Romans* at last, by their general's exhortations, recollected themselves; and encouraging one another not to be frightened at the aspect of a parcel of female furies, and a band of frantic enthusiasts, advanced with fury against the *Britains*: and bearing down all that stood in their way, threw them and the *Druids* into their own fires, which had been prepared for the sacrifice of their captive enemies. In detestation of the barbarities introduced by the *Druidical* superstition of sacrificing men, and mangling their bodies, in order to their divinations, they demolished the altars, and cut down the groves, then spread all over the country; which though now bare of trees, still preserves a monument of its ancient state, in the name of *Llwyn*, i. e. *Groves*, being annexed to the other distinguishing names of a great number of places, in the neighbourhood of that, where this battle was fought. This havock rendered the country utterly unfit for the abode of the *Druids*; who finding themselves more particularly the object of the *Roman* hatred, quitted the island, and took refuge in *Ireland*, and the *Hebrides*. *Suetonius*, to secure his conquest of *Anglesey*, applied himself to the building of forts in the most convenient situations; ¹ some remains of which are still visible, and his name of *Paulinus*, (in *Welsh* *Polygon*) preserved in a *commot*, or quarter of the country. He had begun to provide them with garrisons, when he was called out of the island, and forced to collect all the forces he could together, in order to make head against a sudden revolt of the *British* provinces that had submitted to the empire, or rather a general insurrection of all the *Old Britains*: the causes of which, do not seem to me sufficiently represented by the *Roman* writers; who, neither in their relations, nor in the speeches which they have made for *Bunduica*, take notice of any grievance, but what was confined to the *Roman* province.

It is evident from the whole tenour of their relations, that the *Iceni*, who inhabited *Cambridgeshire*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, the adjoining part of *Essex*, and the countries as far north as *Lincolnshire*, had been for some time reduced into the form of a province; and though we are not, by any historian now extant, directly informed of the precise time when this happened, it is yet reasonable to suppose it done soon after the great victory gained over them by *Ostorius*, for till then they had been treated ² as allies of the *Romans*. The policy of this state made them treat their allies with kindness, as long as they continued faithful: but in case of a revolt, they thought it could not be punished with too great severity. *Claudius*, however, had relaxed a good deal of the rigour of this maxim in favour of the *Iceni*: and had remitted to them the confiscation of their estates; which having been forfeited by their acts of hostility, would otherwise have been seized, upon their being reduced into the form of a province. But the ordinary impositions laid upon provinces, were grievous enough to the *Britains*, who had not been used to any thing of that nature. Such were the tenth ³ of all the produce of their arable ground; a cer-

¹ *Mona Antiq.* p. 99, 113, 114.

² Such people as upon the invasion of a province readily joined with the *Romans*, (as the *Iceni* had done *A. D.* 43.) were called *confederates*, and

were by agreement to enjoy all their former rights and privileges, without paying any tribute.

³ *Heineccius Ant. Rom. App.* n. 114, 115, 116, 117, 58, 59.

tain payment in money, according to the number of cattle belonging to a provincial; ^{A. D. 61.} poll money; and a tax paid for removing the corpse of a person from the place where he died, which could not be done without a particular leave from the governor. This last imposition, which the *Romans* had established in all their provinces, probably to prevent clandestine murders, was very odious to the *Iceni*; though none of them were so grievous as that upon cattle, which was their principal, and almost their only, substance: and this being to be paid in money, they were obliged, having none of their own, to borrow large sums at excessive interest, to make present payment, and prevent the immediate seizure of all their effects. This delayed their ruin but for a little time; the *Romans*, who lent them the money, exacting it again, when they were least able to pay it, with the utmost rigour, seizing their goods, and turning them out of their houses and possessions. *Suetonius* is charged by *Dio*, with lending a sum almost incredible in this manner to the *Britains*, and with proceeding to these extremities; when the whole was not repaid at once according to his demand: which that author judged to be one of the chief causes of the revolt of the *Iceni*.

THE *Trinovantes* likewise had their particular grievances; great numbers of them, whose estates lay about *Camulodunum*, being turned out of their all, to make way for the colony of veterans there settled: which could not well have less than 200,000 acres of land shared out to them and their families. When the *Britains* complained of this hardship, which their behaviour had not merited, they were abused with reproachful language, called slaves and captives, and treated accordingly, forced to till the ground, and to work like artificers; employments which they detested, and the more, because all the benefit of their labour went to the *Romans*. The temple likewise erected at *Camulodunum*, in honour of *Claudius*, the service of which was very chargeable, the sacrifices, the flamens, and every thing belonging to it, being defrayed by a tax on the province, was another grievance; and the more uneasy to them, as it clashed with their notions of religion, and was a sort of perpetual monument of that emperor's conquest, and their own slavery. But what is represented as most affecting all the provincial *Britains*, was the barbarous treatment of the family and vassals of *Prasutagus*, king or prince of the *Iceni*. He had, in the course of a long reign, amassed a good stock of riches, uncommon in that country, and sufficient to tempt the avarice of the *Roman* officers. He had by his will left the emperor coheir with his own daughters; an act of obsequiousness common enough at *Rome*, for reasons like that which influenced *Prasutagus*; whose view, in this step, was to secure his principality to his natural heirs, and his family from all manner of injuries by *Claudius's* protection, which he had thus engaged. The event did not answer to his views, for by the *Roman* law², no foreigner, nor any person, but a citizen entitled to the *jus comitiorum*, had power to make a will: and *Catus Decianus*, the procurator of the province, either on this account, or under colour of the will, entered upon all the effects and possessions of the deceased prince, treated his widow, queen *Bunduica*, with intolerable insolence, scourging her like a slave, and violated the chastity of her daughters. The late prince's relations were reputed no better than slaves; his houses seized by the imperial officers; his principality wasted by the centurions and soldiery, who committed insolences and rapine in all places: and, as if the whole country had been a deed of gift, or had fallen to the empire by escheat, the nobility or chieftains of the *Iceni* were turned out of their paternal estates. These

¹ Three thousand foot, and three hundred horse, with a share of fifty acres of land to each footman, and a double quantity to the centurions and cavalry were allowed even in *Italy*, but in remote coun-

tries, and in frontier places, the numbers and shares were probably greater. See *Sigon. de Ant. jur. Ital.* l. i. *Liv.* l. xxxix. xl.

² *Heineccius Element. Jur.* l. ii. *Tit.* xii.

A. D. 61. were great provocations indeed; but though a dread of the like might possibly extend to others, they were as yet confined only to the *Iceni* and *Trinobantes*: and a more general cause ought to be assigned for a general insurrection, a thing so unusual in *Britain*,

THIS cause, I take to be the cruelty exercised by *Suetonius* upon the *Druids* in *Anglesey*; where he burnt all of them he could catch, and made such destruction of their places of worship, and of every thing they deemed sacred, as shewed plainly a design of utterly extirpating their religion. The *Roman* writers infinitely detesting a superstition that produced the most shocking and inhuman barbarities, seem to have had no notion, that the abolishing of it could give any distaste to a reasonable people: but, bad as their religion was, it was still dear to the *Britains*, and the reverence which they bore to the persons of the *Druids*, was little short of adoration. We are assured, by *Cæsar*, and others, of the vast influence which they had over the people, and of the power, little less than absolute, which they exercised in all public affairs: and this extended into all parts, and over all the different nations of *Britain*. When therefore the more active part of these *Druids* employed in the administration of justice, and other magistracies in the various provinces of the island, heard of the massacre of the venerable sages of their order, retired from the world in *Anglesey*, the destruction of their seminary, and the terrible havock made of their sacred places; it was very natural for them to stir up the people in all parts to a general insurrection, and full as natural for the people to rise in defence of their religion. The *Britains* had hitherto shewn very little concern for one another; each nation had minded its own immediate interest, and had seen with great tranquillity their neighbours, that lay next the danger, attacked, oppressed, and subdued, without stirring a step in their behalf: but now roused as it were out of their lethargy, they made a¹ general united effort for their common liberty. The *Britains*, furious on the instant of a provocation, sudden in their resolutions, and impetuous in their first motions, though too variable to persevere in any measures, ran hastily in all places to arms, and assembled immediately out of the *Iceni*, and their vassals, or confederates, an army of 120,000 men; which by reinforcements from the *Brigantes*, and other remoter states of the island, (not excepting even the *Caledonians*²) was soon increased to 230,000. We do not in any age, nor in any part of the *British* history, find another instance, either of a general concert in the different states of the country, or of such a prodigious number of forces raised on any occasion, as there was on this: which appears to me perfectly unaccountable in any other manner, than from the mighty influence of the *Druids*, and the common cause of religion.

THE *Iceni* were the first that took the field, either more eager than the others, on account of their own wrongs, and those of their queen *Bunduica*, a woman of a venerable aspect, graceful person, high spirit, masculine courage, and warlike disposition; or lying more conveniently to attack the *Romans* in the heart of their dominions. The *Trinovantes*, and others averse to servitude, soon joined them; and having probably some of their countrymen, or at least some intelligence, in *Camulodunum*, took it either by surprize or treachery, and put the colony to the sword; who, given up to luxury, had taken more care to make the place agreeable and commodious, than to strengthen it by fortifications. The *Romans* had advice of their danger early enough to have provided against it: but as the governor was too far distant, sending to *Catus* the procurator for succours, he had supplied them

¹ *Tacit. vit. Agricol. n. 16. Sumpstæ universi bellum, & n. 18. rebellione totius Britannia.* *Dio. l. lxii. init. ἥτις ἦσαν ἡλλοτριώθη.*

² As may be inferred from *Galgacus's* speech,

in which he mentions their assisting the *Britains*, who in former battles with the *Romans*, he says, *spem ac subsidium in nostris manibus habebant.* *Tacit. vit. Agric. n. 30.*

only with two hundred men ill armed ; and their councils were so much influenced by traitors who sate in them, that they neither sent away the infirm and useless multitude, nor threw up any *vallum* or intrenchment, nor took any other reasonable precaution for their defence. In this condition were they surrounded by a multitude of the *Britains* who forcing the place at the first onset, plundered and burnt the town ; and in two days more took by storm the temple of *Claudius* ; in which all that were left of the garrison, about two hundred in number, had taken refuge. *Petilius Cerealis* legate of the ninth legion, was by this time on his march for their assistance ; but the *Britains* falling upon him in the way, cut all the foot of his legion in pieces ; *Cerealis* himself escaping with the horse to his camp, where he defended himself by the fortifications. The procurator *Catus* well knowing, how justly he was hated in the province, and how much his avarice had contributed to this insurrection, and the mischiefs that followed it, fled over into *Gaul*, to avoid the vengeance due to his iniquities. The *Britains*, having no longer any enemy to face them in the field, spread themselves all over the country ; putting to the sword all that were subject to the *Romans* ; and (what shews how extremely they were irritated) not sparing the lives of even women, and helpless people, but putting them to death by burning, crucifying, impaling, and with all manner of exquisite tortures, and shocking circumstances of cruelty. It is computed that ^a of natural *Romans* and their allies, no less than seventy or eighty thousand perished on this occasion. *Vérolam* was a *municipium*, or free city, in which the *Britains* enjoyed their municipal laws, and had their own magistrates, and other honorary privileges : but not being fortified, it fell an easy, though an opulent, prey to the *Iceni* ; who did not care so much to attack forts and stations defended by garrisons, (though they did take some of them,) as to rove up and down the country for booty ; and having loaded themselves with it, returned home, like their northern countrymen of later days, to lay it up in a place of safety.

THIS allowed time for *Suetonius* to come from *Anglesey*, to the relief of the province. The countries were all risen in his way ; yet he marched with wonderful confidence, and great expedition through the midst of enemies, and brought his small body of forces safe to *London* ; which being admirably situated for trade, had been probably the first town founded by the *Belgic* colonies upon their settlement in this island, and was now very famous for its number of merchants, and its plenty of all sorts of accommodations. He found the place not tenable, by the small body he had with him, against the infinite numbers of the enemy, that were by this time got together : and resolved to quit it, notwithstanding all the intreaties of the inhabitants ; thinking it better to sacrifice one town, rather than run the hazard of losing the whole province. He carried off with him such of the citizens as were able to go, and chose to leave their pleasant habitations, and valuable effects, rather than lose their lives : the weaker sex, and those, who either through age and infirmities were not able, or out of a fondness for the place were not willing, to retire, were put to the sword by the enemy. In this distressed situation, it was very lucky for *Suetonius*, that the *Belgic Britains* stood firm to the *Roman* interest ; by which means he was still master of all the countries to the south and west of the *Thames*, and might thence be furnished with provisions and supplies. Secure from any enemy on that side, he assembled all the forces he could ; drawing the auxiliary cohorts from the neighbouring garrisons which were not tenable : and though *Pannius Postumus*, prefect of the second legion, refused to obey his orders, and march with it to his assistance ; yet these, with the fourteenth legion, and the *Vexillarii* of the twentieth, making about ten thousand men, he resolved to wait no longer, but to venture a general engagement.

^a *Dio*, l. lxii.

A. D. 61.

WITH this view, he chose a very advantageous situation for his camp, and drew up his troops; the legionaries in the middle, and the light armed on each side of them, and the horse serving for wings to both, in a narrow spot of ground; a wood behind him, so that he could be attacked only in front; and a large open plain before him, where the enemy might expand their numerous forces, but could trapan him into no ambush. There the *Britains* came, full of confidence, with loud huzzas to attack him; *Bunduica* appearing, with her two daughters in a chariot, at the head of her army, which consisted of 230,000 men, and exhorting them to behave with courage, and either conquer or die in the battle. The *Romans* received the charge in their narrow fastness, till they had spent all their javelins in doing sure execution on those that advanced nearest: and having thus repelled the first fury of the enemy, they sallied out in the form of a wedge, and pierced the ranks of the *Britains*, who still fought on, though in great disorder and confusion. The combat was long and obstinate; but the *Romans* being old experienced soldiers: and having as much advantage in their armour, as they had in their discipline over the *Britains*, forced them at last to fly, after a great slaughter in the action; which was followed by a much greater in the pursuit. This last loss was chiefly occasioned by the *British* custom of carrying their women to war, and ranging their baggage waggons round about the further part of the field, for them to stand upon to see the battle, and be witnesses of their victory. Thus there fell that day near 80,000 *Britains*; besides a great number of prisoners, doomed to perpetual slavery. The *Britains* never disheartened by a defeat, prepared for another battle; when the sudden death of *Bunduica*, caused probably by grief, vexation, and despair, or hastened (as some say) by poison, disconcerted all their measures, and caused them to disperse into their several countries; an usual consequence of disappointments, in armies collected out of different nations.

THE war, however, was not yet over, though *Suetonius* assembled all his legions and forces in order to finish it; keeping them constantly in the field, employed in marches and expeditions: and having recruited the ninth legion, by a reinforcement of two thousand legionaries, which with eight cohorts of auxiliaries, and a thousand horse were sent him out of *Germany*, he wasted with fire and sword all the countries belonging to the enemy. This reduced the *Britains* to great distress; for being at all times averse to agriculture, and having neglected it entirely, whilst they were intent upon the war, proposing to supply themselves with corn out of the magazines of the *Romans*, they now, disappointed of that hope, suffered more by famine, than they did by the sword. They did not still sue for peace, nor offer a submission; which the new procurator *Julius Classicianus*, imputing to the haughtiness and severity of *Suetonius*, wrote to *Rome*, that there would be no end of the war, unless a new governour was sent over. These two officers did not agree together, and that quarrel might perhaps make the procurator willing to detract from the merit and glory, which *Suetonius* had acquired by his victory: but still there seems too much reason to think, there were some grounds for another part of the charge against him, and for ascribing the late insurrection to his perverseness and cruelty; of which, however, history hath preserved no instance, except in the slaughter of the *Druids* in the *Isle of Anglesey*. This alone was enough to render him infinitely odious to the *Britains*; and though *Polycletus*, who was sent over to examine into the state of *Britain*, and to make up the quarrel between the Legate and Procurator, made the softest report he could to the emperor; yet this reason prevailed to have *Suetonius* recalled immediately. *Petronius Turpilianus*, who was consul in the beginning of this year, being appointed his successor, and setting out from *Rome*, soon after his magistracy expired, (which at this time very seldom or never exceeded the term of six months) to take upon him the government, arrived

rived here at the latter end of *A. D.* 61. or in the beginning of the year following.

THE constancy with which the *Britains*, after so terrible a blow, and under so great difficulties, still held out against the *Roman* arms, without shewing any disposition to re-enter into their former servitude, was very near recovering their liberty. *Nero*, who was then Emperor, seeing the ill situation of his affairs here, and the difficulty of either keeping the provinces formerly subdued, or reducing the rest of the island, was inclined to recall all his forces from *Britain*¹: nor did any thing restrain him from taking this step, but the apprehension that it would be deemed a detracting from the honour of *Claudius*; to whom he owed the empire, and whose conquests here were the only glory of his reign. *Turpilianus* was a very proper successor to *Suetonius*; and re-established the *Roman* affairs here, by taking measures very different from those of his predecessor; by allowing time for their resentments to cool, and not provoking the *Britains* by fresh injuries, or by too eager a prosecution of the war, which had been hitherto carried on with unusual cruelties. He was a new governour, who had given them no offence: they found nothing in his conduct but mildness and humanity; their passions subsided; and those nations in which the *Roman* government had been formerly settled, returned again to their obedience. Such were the *Iceni*, and their confederates, who inhabited the middle of this island as far north as *Lincolnshire*, (where the procurator *Catus* had made those roads, canals, and other works described by Dr. *Stukeley*, in his first *Itinerary*, and still preserving memorials of the name of their author,) and from thence westward to the *Severne*. These were, at that time the furthest boundaries of the *Roman* province; which *Turpilianus*, not thinking it a proper season for attempting new conquests, took care to preserve in peace, as long as he continued in the post of Legate; and delivered in that condition to his successor. He returned to *Rome* in *A. D.* 65², and had triumphal honours decreed him by the senate; being succeeded in his government by *Trebellius Maximus*: who pursuing his predecessor's maxims and conduct, enjoyed the same tranquillity; reconciling the *Britains*, by degrees, to the *Roman* laws, customs, and manner of living. He was not in so good terms with his own soldiers; who despised him for his inactivity and avarice, and being grown corrupt and insolent by idleness and luxury, broke out into tumults; in which they were encouraged by *Roscius Cælius*, legate of the twentieth legion, who was at open variance with the *Proprætor*. *Trebellius* absconded upon the first mutiny of the troops, thinking his life in danger: but afterwards compounded the matter with them; providing for his own safety by indulging them in their licentiousness. Thus he continued to enjoy the shadow of a precarious authority, till the civil wars broke out at the end of *Nero's* reign; when the several candidates of the empire being forced to court the armies on which their fates depended, the soldiers thought they might securely take what liberty they pleased: and the auxiliary cohorts and cavalry making an open defection to *Cælius*³, *Trebellius* was, in the beginning of *A. D.* 69, forced to fly to *Vitellius*, who had assumed the purple in *Germany*. The want of a governour occasioned no disturbance in *Britain*; the commanders of the several legions keeping it quiet, till *Vespius Bolanus* came over: who was dispatched hither by *Vitellius*, during his stay at *Lyon*, in the beginning of *May* the same year, to take on him the government of the province. He was full as inactive against the enemy, and every whit as careless of the discipline of the army, as his predecessor; though not tainted with the same vices, and better beloved by the soldiery: but he had so little authority over them, that, when after the death

A. D. 62.

A. D. 65.

A. D. 69.

¹ *Sueton. Nero*, c. 18.

² *Tacit. Ann.* xv. n. 72.

³ *Tacit. Hist.* l. i. n. 60.

of *Vitellius*, the twentieth legion refused to take the oaths to *Vespasian*¹, *Mucianus*, who governed all at *Rome* till the Emperor's arrival, was forced in the beginning of *A. D. 70.* *A. D. 70*, to send over *Julius Agricola* (who had served in *Britain* under *Suetonius*) to take on him the command of those legionaries, who had been used to seditions under *Cælius*, and to bring them to their duty; which he did with great prudence, and without having recourse to severity.

Under *Vespasian* and his sons.

VI. THE contests for the empire having called off the *Roman* armies from the frontiers where they were usually posted, several insurrections had arisen in *Gaul*, *Germany*, and *Holland*; the fame of which spreading into the neighbouring isles, soon produced the like in *Britain*; the country of the world where reports have the greatest influence. *Venutius* was still upon the throne of the *Brigantes*, and thought it a favourable opportunity for taking revenge upon the *Romans*; who, after his wife *Cartismandua's* infamous treatment of him, had espoused her cause, and supported her party with all their power. It was by his instances, that several *British* nations joined with the *Brigantes*, in invading the *Roman* province; where they expected the less opposition, because of the weakness, inactivity, and inexperience of the proprætor. *Vectius* was no military officer, and utterly unfit for the government of a country, in which there was any disturbance to be suppressed, or any war to be managed: but *Vespasian*, a wise prince, who knew how to distinguish merit, and never employed any but great men in all his affairs, soon remedied that defect, by sending *Petilius Cerealis* to be governour of *Britain*. He was an enterprising and experienced general; and had been destined to this government by *Mucianus*², in the first year of *Vespasian's* reign: but the insurrections of *Gaul* and *Germany* had deferred his taking possession of it, till he had quelled them, and by a series of victories had reduced *Civilis* and the *Batavians* to a submission. As soon as he had finished those wars, he came over hither; probably at the latter end of *A. D. 71*, or in the beginning of the year following; great in reputation, on account of his late victories, and terrible by his very name to the *Britains*. Brave, even to rashness, and eager for action on all occasions, he left them no time to breathe; but after many battles, some of them very bloody, he either ravaged or conquered a great part of the country of the *Brigantes*, the most populous nation in *Britain*, inhabiting the northern parts of the island from *Solway-Frith* to *Cheshire*, and from the *Tyne* to the *Humber*. He was succeeded by *Julius Frontinus*, a perfect master of the art of war, and author of the four books of *Stratagems* that bear his name: who, notwithstanding the disadvantage of coming after *Cerealis*, whose glory was enough to eclipse the merit of any successor, sustained his reputation; and made himself illustrious by the conquest of the *Silures*, or at least of that part of them, which inhabited the forest of *Deane*, and the counties of *Hereford* and *Monmouth*. They were a potent, hardy, and warlike nation; and he had not only the valour of the enemy, but the strength of their situation to struggle with: yet he got over all difficulties, and reduced them to a submission, before he left the government in *A. D. 78*, when he was succeeded by *Julius Agricola*; who had been substituted consul the year before, to qualify him for a command usually given to consular persons.

A. D. 78.

AGRICOLA was well known in *Britain*; having served there both under *Suetonius* and *Cerealis* with great reputation; which he took care to raise by the vigour of his first actions, after he had entered upon the government of this island. The *Ordovices*, whom *Suetonius* had been hindered by the insurrection of *Bunduica*, from reducing, had a little before his arrival, cut off a squadron of cavalry quar-

¹ *Vit. Agricol. n. 7, 8.*

² *Tacit. Hist. l. iv. n. 68. Vit. Agricol. n. 8, 17, &c.*

tered on the borders of their country: and the news of it having been received with pleasure by many in the *Roman* province, who were disposed to a revolt, and likely to work upon a people very apt to be elated by any little success, he thought it necessary to prevent further mischief by revenging the insult. It was so late in the summer before he arrived, that his forces imagined the campaign was over for that year, and were dispersed into their several quarters: but this did not hinder him from drawing together the *Vexillarii* of the legions, and a competent body of auxiliaries, with which he marched immediately against the enemy. The *Ordouices* not daring to venture a battle or to quit their mountains, he pursued them into their fastnesses; exposing himself the first to danger, that his men might follow him with greater alacrity; and having put a great number of the enemy to the sword, and ravaged their country, he advanced as far as *Mona*, or *Anglesey*; resolving to make himself master of that island, which served the *Britains* for a place of retreat. As he had not formed this design before, he wanted ships for the expedition; but having in his army some cohorts, who according to the custom of their native country, were used to swim over the largest rivers. (‘as the *Batavians* used to cross the *Rhine*) with their arms and horses in entire squadrons, he ordered them to leave their baggage, and pass the channel which divides *Anglesey* from *Carnarvanskire*. “The ² place where they passed is supposed to be “from *Llanvair* point, in that last named county, to a little south west of *Llanidan* “church in *Anglesey*, where the water now at lowest ebb, is not above the depth “of a fathom or two in the deepest place; and when the sands lodge on the edge “of a rock, which runs cross the channel, as they now do sometimes, and probably “did so then, it is fordable without much difficulty, and a few years ago very “small vessels have struck aground in passing along the channel, and two men from “each side, have approached so near, as to come within a pole’s length of one another.” Here *Agricola* passed the *Mæne* so suddenly with his forces, that he surprized the *Britains*; who seeing no preparation of ships, and thinking the channel otherwise unpassable, fancied themselves secure from any invasion: but now, astonished at the *Romans* surmounting difficulties, which they deemed invincible, laid aside all thoughts of defence, and surrendered the island without any opposition. There are still to be seen the remains of two *Roman* forts ³ conveniently situated, the one in the eastern quarter, the other on the western point of *Anglesey*, which seem to have been erected by this General for the security of his conquests, as he probably raised also a column for their boundary; there being a place called *Rhos Colofn* i. e. the *beath of the column*, near the latter of these forts; which, alluding to the name of its founder, is to this day called *Griecill*.

AGRICOLA, leaving the country of the *Ordouices* pacified by the submission of their chiefs, who had retired to *Mona*, and likely to continue so whilst the terror of his name subsisted, returned full of glory from his expedition: and employed the winter in removing the disorders which had crept into the administration of the province; in reforming the discipline of the army; and in correcting the vices of the soldiery. This he did with great prudence and steadiness; examining into every thing himself with the utmost exactness; but not fond of exposing and punishing the guilty in all cases; conniving in some, content with repentance in others; easily pardoning slight offences, but punishing greater ones with severity; he thought it much better to prevent faults than to punish them; and to be well served, he put none into public offices, but such as he knew were fit for their post, and would execute their trust with fidelity. Private affection, selfish views, and particular recommendations had no influence in the disposal of prefer-

¹ *Tacit. Hist.* l. iv.

² *Mona Antiq.* p. 104.

³ *Ibid.* 105, 106.

A. D. 79.

ments, which he conceived due, and gave only to superior merit. This soon brought the soldiers to a modesty and regularity in their behaviour: which was very agreeable to the *Britains*, as putting a stop to the rapes and corruption of their wives, sisters and daughters; which had contributed so much to the insurrection of the *Iceni*. *Agricola* was by long observation well acquainted with the genius and temper of these people, ever impatient and mutinous under oppression, but naturally quiet if well treated: and resolved to prevent the causes of wars and seditions, by removing the worst of their grievances. They were subject to several taxes, and obliged as well to work upon the military roads, intrenchments, drains, aqueducts, and public buildings, as to furnish certain quantities of corn, and provisions for the *Roman* armies: but the inequality of the assessments was a greater hardship than the taxes themselves. The carriage of provisions to remote garrisons, when they could with ease supply the nearest; and the being set in distant places to labours which they would have undergone with cheerfulness in the neighbourhood of their own abodes, were terrible inconveniencies, continually put upon the *Britains* by the corruption of the officers; who had the charge of rating, collecting, and inspecting these public impositions and duties, and who eased, loaded, oppressed and tyrannized over whom they pleased, as their avarice, or passions directed, and as would most advance the perquisites of their places. These grievances the *Proprætor* took effectual care to redress; allowing none to be employed at a distance from their homes, or taxed beyond their abilities; so that peace which before was dreaded as the season, in which the chastity of their women was most exposed, and their burdens lay the heaviest, began now to be agreeable to the *Britains*.

When the next summer came on, he took the field with his forces; and marched to reduce the northern provinces of *Britain*. *Catus Decianus* had, before the general insurrection in the time of *Suetonius*, carried on the military roads through *Lincolnshire* to the borders of *Yorkshire*; and this last country with that of *Durham* were probably that part of the country of the *Brigantes*, which was subdued by *Cerealis*; who could not well attack the western part of their territories, divided from the other by a long ridge of mountains, without leaving an enemy behind, that might intercept his convoys and provisions; the security of which was ever the first care of a *Roman* general. But *Agricola* having reduced the *Ordovices*, there was no longer any difficulty in the enterprize; but what arose from the *Frieths*, which he was to cross in several places on the sea coast, and from the large forests through which he was to lead his troops in the inland parts of those countries. These he first tried himself, marching always at the head of his men, allowing the enemy no rest, driving them out of their fastnesses, ravaging their country; and when he had sufficiently terrified them by these hostilities, inviting them to peace by a milder treatment. These measures had the effect he proposed; several nations suing for peace, offering to submit, and delivering hostages as a pledge of their obedience; which however did not hinder him from securing his conquests by a number of forts and garrisons, in proper situations, and well provided to suppress any commotion that might be raised. These forts made afterwards a great part of the strength of *Hadrian's Vallum*; which filling up the intervals, joined them as it were together: but they were erected long before, and the inscriptions dug up about *Benwell* fort, and in other places of *Northumberland*, as well as in *Cumberland* and *Westmorland*, ancients than the time of that Emperor, ¹ will not allow us to doubt, but that *Agricola* reduced the *Otadini* as well as the western *Brigantes*;

¹ *Baxter's Gloss. Brit. Ant.* p. 7.

and thus finished, in this expedition, the conquest of the country since known by the name of *England*.

A. D. 79.

THE succeeding winter was spent in the like manner as the former, in providing for the peace and improvement of the province, and in taking measures to reconcile the *Old Britains* to the *Roman* government, and bring them to a state of civility. The *Belgic* colonies were most of them attached to the *Romans* by the interests of their trade; and being used to a social life, easily fell into their way of living; as for such of them as lived in the inland parts of their country, employed only in hunting or feeding cattle, the *Romans* had found out a way to engage them, that suited their warlike dispositions, by taking numbers of them into their pay, to form cohorts of auxiliaries under the command of the little *Reguli* or chieftains whose vassals they were: and of these I take those cohorts of *Britains* to be composed, which served with others of *Gauls* and *Germans* in the war against the *Caledonians*. The old *Natives* of this island were not yet tractable enough to be employed in fighting against their country-men; they were rough, unskilled in arts, unacquainted with pleasures, inured to hardships, lived dispersed, and, in consequence thereof, were ready for war on all occasion. *Agricola* endeavoured to render them more polite, in order to give them a better taste for servitude: he pressed their chiefs in private to leave off their uncomfortable manner of life, to build houses answerable to their dignity, to live together in society; to erect temples, courts, market places, and other public buildings, which serve for the ornaments of towns, and the convenience of their inhabitants; he assisted them publicly in carrying on these works; encouraged such as set heartily about them; and reprimanded those that were negligent; thus putting them under a necessity of vying with one another, in order to be distinguished in his favours. It was but an equivocal mark of his regard for the *British* princes or chieftains, however it might ingratiate him with their children, to take particular care of the education of their sons; to have them instructed in the liberal arts; to extol their ingenuity above that of the *Gauls*; and to put them upon affecting the eloquence, when they had made themselves masters of the language, of the *Romans*. Hence the *Roman* garb came soon to be in fashion, and their customs to be generally adopted by the *Britains*; who fell by degrees into all the softness, delicacy, and vices of their conquerors; the use of warm baths, the sumptuousness of portico's, the elegance of entertainments, and all the luxury of living; palliating with the name of politeness those corrupt and destructive habits, which were the badge and means of their slavery.

A. D. 80.

AGRICOLA in his third campaign entered *Scotland*, and advanced as far as the *Firth of Tay*; wasting the country all the way as he went, and discovering nations unknown before. The *Britains* did not venture to attack him, though his troops were harassed by bad weather; so that he had leisure enough to build forts in the most advantageous situations: which he had an admirable judgment in choosing, and was so singularly skilled in fortifying, that it was observed by the ablest engineers, that no one fort thus erected by him, was ever taken by storm, surrendered, or abandoned to the enemy. These seem to be placed in the country, through which he directed his march, on the western side of the *Lowlands* of *Scotland*; and he took care as well to strengthen them with good garrisons, as to supply them with a year's provision. There the *Romans* passed the winter without any apprehensions of danger, and harassed the enemy with continual excursions; who having been used to recover in that season what they had lost in the summer, and now seeing themselves defeated of that hope, baffled in all their attempts of force or surprise, and alike exposed in all times of the year, were driven to utter despair. In this expedition he had rather ravaged than reduced the country; so that the year following

A. D. 81.

was

A. D. 82.

was spent in securing what he had thus over-run; as far as the place, where the *Romans*, were it not for their insatiable thirst of glory, would naturally have fixed the boundary of their conquests in *Britain*. This was the narrow *Isthmus* between the *Fritbs* of *Cluyd* and *Forth*, which he lined with a *Prætentura* of castles and fortresses; remaining master of all on this side those æstuaries; whilst the enemy severed from the *Romans* by the interposition of these two arms of the ocean, flowing far up within the land, and hastening in vain from opposite quarters, to mix their near approaching waves, were driven as it were into another island.

A. D. 83.

THE succeeding year was chiefly employed by *Agricola*, in settling the countries he had already subdued; for though fitting out a fleet, he went on board it with a body of troops, yet his design was rather for a discovery, than conquest. With this fleet he sailed along the western coast of *Scotland*, and to the north of the *Cluyde*: and to learn something of countries as yet unknown, landed in several places of the *Highlands*, perhaps too of the *Hebrides*, and other neighbouring isles, (particularly the *Orcades*, which he certainly subdued either this year, or two years afterwards) wasting the maritime parts, and defeating, in several engagements, the clans that rose to defend their territories. Upon his return, he quartered his forces in that part of *Britain* which lies opposite to *Ireland*; not out of any apprehensions of being attacked from thence, but in hopes of invading it; if the envy and jealousy of *Domitian* (who, on *September* 13, the year before, had succeeded his brother *Titus*) would have given him leave to attempt the conquest of that island; which was very conveniently situated to unite all the western parts of the empire. He had a strong inclination to the enterprize: and with that view, kept about him, under colour of friendship, the chief of an *Irish sept*; who, either by colonies of *Gallicians*, come perhaps some time before from *Spain*, and encroaching on the territories of the old natives of *Ireland*, or in consequence of some other unsuccessful war, had been driven out of his own country, and forced to take refuge in *Britain*. He thought the conquest might be effected by a body of 10,000 foot, and 2000 horse; and that it would be of great use towards the entire reduction of *Great Britain*, to remove out of the sight of its inhabitants, the example of an island so nearly adjoining, untouched by the *Roman* arms, and happy in the enjoyment of its natural liberty. This was the only inconvenience, which the wise and politic *Agricola* apprehended from the independency of *Ireland*, the new colonies probably not being as yet either settled or grown formidable in that country; so that he had no reason to dread any disturbance from thence, or to imagine that people capable of contributing by their continual descents, so much, as they afterwards did, to the ruin of the *Roman* power in *Britain*.

IN the sixth year of his government, *Agricola* fitting out another fleet, sent it to discover the eastern coast of *Scotland*, north of the *Fritb* of *Forth*; and to procure some intelligence of the various nations of the northern *Britains*, which inhabited that tract of country: and advanced with his army the same way; the fleet at sea attending his marches, and either hovering off the coast, or making descents on it, all the time of this expedition. When he entered *Caledonia*, he found all the inhabitants in arms, and all the roads beset with enemies; his last years ravages on the coast of the *Highlands*, having alarmed all the clans, and convinced them of the necessity of an union; their preparations were great: but report made them still greater, and with their brisk attempts upon the *Roman* forts, and bold attacks of their parties, they struck such a terror into some of *Agricola's* officers, that, with an affectation of prudence, to cover the real fears of their hearts, they advised him to retire back on this side the *Forth*, and rather voluntarily quit, than be driven by force out of the country. The General was too brave to hearken to such timorous counsels; and upon intelligence, that the enemy was marching
against

against him in different bodies, divided his army into three parts, to prevent its being surrounded in any disadvantageous situation, whilst marching through a country to which he was a perfect stranger. The *Caledonians*, hereupon altered their disposition likewise; and reuniting all their forces, fell in the night upon the ninth legion, as the weakest: and surprizing the centinels, broke into the camp, where a furious battle ensued, maintained with difficulty, by the *Romans*, till near day break; when *Agricola*, having had advice of the enemies motions, came up with a body of cavalry, and the lightest of his foot to their relief. His arrival changed the fortune of the day, giving new spirits to the besieged; who now, in their turn, became aggressors: and sallying out, charged the *Caledonians* in front; whilst the General fell upon their rear, with so much vigour in both places, that the enemy was routed; and the war had probably been ended that day, by the numbers of their slain, if some neighbouring woods and bogs had not sheltered them in their flight. The *Roman* soldiers, elated with this victory, were for penetrating to the farthest extremity of *Britain*; and even those who had been before so very cautious, now talked big on the occasion: but the *Britains*, no way daunted by this defeat, which they ascribed not so much to the superior valour of the enemy, as to the vigilance and conduct of the General, prepared for another engagement; making fresh levies; sending their families into places of safety; holding general councils of their several clans or nations; and forming a league, confirmed by all the solemnities of religion, to assist each other, and with united forces assert the liberty of their country. With these dispositions on both sides the campaign ended.

A. D. 83.

THE next was opened by a naval expedition: the fleet being sent before, to land parties in different places of the *Caledonian* coast, to waste the country, and to distract the enemy, uncertain of their destination, and not knowing where to provide for defence. *Agricola* followed after with his army, reinforced by a body of the bravest provincial *Britains*, whose fidelity he had long experienced: and advanced to the *Grampian* ridge of hills, where he found the enemy posted. They had seen the fatal consequences of disunion, and all the clans joining their forces to oppose the common danger, had formed an army of more than 30,000 men, continually increasing by fresh supplies of vigorous and gallant warriors, all eager for battle to revenge their late disaster, under the command of *Galgacus*; who, for his valour, quality, and experience, had by the common consent of the chieftains been appointed General of all their forces. The *Britains* were possessed of the higher ground, and so much superior to the *Romans* in number, that they might have attacked them in flank, as well as front; if *Agricola* had not, by extending his first line of auxiliaries, without altering his disposition in any other respect, provided against that inconvenience. But they were very unequal to the enemy in point of armour; darts and broad cutting swords without points being their offensive weapons; and no cuirasses or helmets, nothing but a small target for defence. As long as the battle was carried on at a distance, the *Britains* maintained their ground with great resolution, and managed their short target so dextrously, as to put by or shake off the enemies javelins, whilst they dealt their own very plentifully among the *Romans*: but their swords being in a manner useless in a close fight, when *Agricola* ordered the *Batavian* and *Tungrian* cohorts, very expert in that way of fighting, to close with them, they were forced to give ground, and, with the loss of ten thousand killed on the spot, to retire to the woods; where they rallied, and made those that pursued them too eagerly, repent their rashness. They might perhaps have recovered the day, and had their revenge upon the *Romans*, if the General, who was present in all places where need required, had not come up, and having remedied the disorder of his own troops, caused the *Caledonians* to be attacked at the same time in several places. The *Britains* seeing these different corps advance

A. D. 84.

A. D. 84. in firm array, and in good order, quitted their post, not as before in bodies, but dispersing, shifted each man the best he could for himself, till they got to a place of safety, being much favoured in that respect, by the approach of night, which put a stop to the pursuit. The next day shewed more plainly the compleatness of the victory; no enemy appearing, no track of their flight, no noise upon the mountains; nothing to be seen but the smoke of houses at a distance, fired by their late inhabitants, and a deserted country; the scouts likewise bringing intelligence, that the enemy was no where got together in a body. Thus there being no likelihood of any further action, unless by dividing his forces into several parties, and pursuing the *Caledonians* into their mountains; which it was too late in the summer to attempt; *Agricola* drew his army down into the county of *Angus*, then inhabited by the *Horesti*, who immediately submitted and delivered hostages. There putting a body of his men on board the fleet, he ordered the Commodore to sail round *Britain*; which, by the strange adventure of a cohort of the *Ussipii* the year before, had been first discovered to be an island. When he had given these orders, he led his army by slow marches to their winter quarters: and the fleet having shewed itself, and spread terror or admiration on every part of the coast, returned, after making the tour of the island, and subduing the *Orcades*, without any disaster, to the port of *Sandwich*.

As to the place of this famous battle, it is very clear from the whole account of the campaign, that it was fought on the north of *Tay*; because *Agricola* was advanced so far, that it was leading his army back to march into *Angus*, which though north also of the *Frith* of that river, was yet probably east or south-east of those skirts of the *Grampian* hills, now called *Grantzbaire*, where the action passed. *Agricola* had in his former campaigns reduced, and taken time to settle the countries south of *Tay*; in this last he advanced beyond it, and in the speech² which he made to animate his soldiers before the battle, after taking notice of the glory they had acquired by passing *Æstuaries*, and advancing into the extreme parts of *Britain*, he represented likewise how exceeding dangerous it would be for them to repass those very *Æstuaries*, in case they were worsted in the engagement. But this danger could regard none but that of *Tay*, the others of *Forth* and *Cluyde*, being too well secured by the line which he had made of fortifications between them, to allow one to imagine, that the repassing of them would be attended with any difficulty. This inclines me to adopt the opinion of the author of *Britannia Romana*, who thinks the battle was fought at *Fortin-gall* camp, sixteen miles from *Perth*, rather than at the confluence of the *Erne* and *Ruchell* in *Stratberne*, the place assigned for it in Mr. *Gordon's Itinerarium Septentrionale*⁴. *Domitian*, who envying his General's glory, looked upon it as an eclipsing of his own, and feared *Agricola*, on account of his great qualities, was not at all pleased with this victory: and though he ordered triumphal ornaments to be sent him, and a statue to be erected in his honour, he made use of the first pretence that offered, to recal him from his government. This was done the year following, when *Agricola* delivered up⁵ *Britain* quiet and secure from any commotion to his successor *Sallustius Lucullus*; who, giving the name of *Lucullean* to a new kind of lance of his own invention, was for that reason put to death by the same emperor, and seems to be succeeded by *Cn. Trebellius*.

British affairs under succeeding emperors, to the time of *Commodus*.

VII. THOUGH *Agricola* had so near effected the entire reduction of this island, that in his speech before mentioned, he considers the whole, even that extreme part of it, which he had but just discovered, as already subdued: (and it would

¹ *Vit. Agric. c. 10.*

² *Ib. c. 33.*

³ *P. 44.*

⁴ *P. 39.*

⁵ *Vit. Agric. c. 40.*

have been absolutely so, if he had not been recalled, or had not the *Romans* neglected it afterwards) yet he seems to have slighted the country he had gained, and never planted a garrison among the *Horesti*, who submitted to him, nor in any part of the provinces beyond *Tay*, to secure his conquests. It was possibly his opinion, as it was that of *Tacitus*,¹ that the *Fritbs* of *Cluyde* and *Forth* ought to be made on that side the boundaries of the *Roman* empire: it is at least certain, that the *Romans* neglected afterwards the affairs of *Britain*, and made no attempt to push their conquests farther. The *Caledonians*, weakened or terrified by their late losses, or perhaps content to enjoy their own, without provoking an invasion by rapine and hostilities, seem to have lived in peace all the rest of *Domitian's*, and the succeeding reigns of *Nerva*, *Trajan*, and in all appearance of *Hadrian*. This is the reason of the profound silence of all the historians of those times, with regard to the affairs of *Britain*; wars, disturbances, revolutions, remarkable events and actions, being the chief and favourite subjects of their relations. There is indeed an obscure passage in *Spartian*², intimating in general, that the *Britains* could not be kept under the *Roman* yoke: but there is no fact to support this assertion, and it seems to be a mere conjecture of his to account out of his own imagination for that Emperor's conduct, in withdrawing his forces to a greater distance than before from the frontiers of *Caledonia*. He speaks in the same paragraph of seditions in *Egypt*, of the *Sarmatæ* making war, and the *Moors* committing depredations in the Empire, of *Lycia* and *Palestine* rebelling, and of revolts in other provinces; but he says not a word of any of these things in *Britain*. There all seems to have been in peace, when *Hadrian* came over; and though all the writers of his life celebrate the wall of earth or turf, which he erected here, as the most remarkable act of his reign; not one of them gives the least hint of any war at that time, or of its being built on occasion of any hostile invasion or irruption into the *Roman* territories.

HADRIAN visited *Britain*, as he did the rest of the *Roman* dominions, in the progresses, which he was making continually, from the fourth year of his reign to the end of it, through one province or other of the empire. He was infinitely exact in all his affairs, an excellent manager of his treasury; examined into every thing; and informed himself with so much care of the state of all his dominions, and the conduct of his officers and intendants in each, that he knew the condition of every province of his empire, better than a good œconomist generally doth that of his own family. He loved peace, and, as *Eutropius* says, enjoyed it all his reign without interruption; except by the attempt of the *Sarmatæ* and *Roxolani* upon *Illyricum*, which was soon quelled, and by the *Jewish* rebellion. This was the consequence of his being always prepared for war, and having good armies on all the frontiers; so that no enemy durst insult his territories, where they saw every thing in good order, and well provided by the vigilance of the Emperor. He carried his care so far, as to enquire into the conduct of the common soldiers, as well as officers, and into the condition of their provisions, as well as of their camps and fortifications, and to see them duly supplied with arms, and all kind of warlike machines; to banish all luxury and delicacies out of their quarters, to give them a body of *Tactics* and rules of discipline, which made afterwards the code of military ordinances in the empire, and served to carry the *Roman* discipline to such a perfection, as had not been known since the time of *Augustus*. This Emperor's plan he seems to have followed in another respect; adopting his maxim, that the empire was too large already, and to extend it farther, was not consistent with good policy. *Hadrian* accordingly coming to the throne on the eleventh of

¹ *Ib.* c. 23. ² *Britanni teneri sub ditione Romana non poterant. Historiæ Augustæ Scriptores Sax. p. 3. Ed. Paris 1620.*

A. D. 117. *Augustus*, *A. D. 117*, withdrew his troops immediately from *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Affyria*, which had been subdued by *Trajan*¹; thus making the *Euphrates*, as formerly, the eastern limit of the empire; and would have likewise quitted *Dacia*, but for the great number of *Roman* citizens, which his predecessor had planted there in different colonies. In the progresses which he made, he scarce left (as his medals shew) any part of the empire unvisited; correcting² every where the disorders which had crept into the administration, punishing the guilty, redressing grievances, reforming discipline, observing the situation, state, and condition of towns, castles, walls, and fortifications, and where he did not like either the structure as ill executed, or the situation as being too weak, or exposed, or inconvenient, demolishing some, rebuilding others, and removing the garrisons to places more advantageously seated, or better fortified. The first country that he visited was *Gaul*, where he eased the people in their taxes: and having passed from thence to the armies in *Germany*, came afterwards in *A. D. 121*, into *Britain*; where he had many disorders to correct, as well among the civil officers, as the military; the discipline of the army having been much corrupted by a long peace, and its ordinary effects, idleness and luxury. Whether he thought the line of forts, that ran between the *Fritbs* of *Cluyd* and *Forth*, too remote from the body of the *Roman* forces in this island, or the intermediate country (which was full of woods and morasses) not worth the keeping, he withdrew the garrisons from thence; and fortified the other *Prætentura* formed by *Agricola*, between the *Tyne* and *Solway Fritb*, with a *vallum* of earth or turf, carried on for seventy-three miles in length, which with some advanced stations beyond it, he thought a fitter boundary, and better defence for the richer parts of *Britain*. In this work, as on all other occasions, he taught his soldiers to undergo hardships by his own example: and when he had settled all matters to his mind here, he returned into *Gaul*, and went thence to *Spain*, where he passed the winter at *Tarragona*. The *Roman* historians do not mention whom he left *Proprator* here at his departure; but some time after we find *Julius Severus* in that post; whose excellent talents for war are celebrated by *Xiphiline*, though he seems to have had little occasion to exert them here; being recalled in *A. D. 134*, to quell the *Jewish* insurrection in *Palestine*, and succeeded by *Priscus Licinius*. The Emperor *Hadrian* died on *July 10*, *A. D. 138*; and was succeeded by *Titus Antoninus*, who was (like his predecessor) more careful to preserve, than desirous to enlarge, his empire; but provided so well for the security of his frontiers, that they were never attacked by any foreign enemy, except by the considerable incursions of the *Moors*, in the mountains of *Africa*, and of other people that lived like *Nomades*, whose view was merely plunder. There is, however, a dark passage in *Pausanias*³, and another in *Capitolinus*⁴, which have been made use of to magnify the power of the *Caledonians*, and to infer either their taking possession of the *Lowlands* of *Scotland*, or an insurrection of the *Brigantes* in *England*. The latter says, “That *Antoninus*, by his Legate *Lollus Urbicus*, “overcame the *Britains*; the barbarians being removed at a distance by another “wall of turf; intimating hereby that this wall was different from that of *Hadrian*. The passage in *Pausanias* affirms, that “this emperor deprived the *Brigantes* in *Britain* of much of their lands, because they began to make excursions into *Genoumia*, a region subject to the *Romans*.” These two authors speak of the same people, though what the one calls *Britanni*, the other terms *Brigantes*, by a name which, though more peculiarly appropriated by *Ptolemy*, to the inhabitants of *Yorkshire*, *Lancashire*, *Westmorland*, and *Cumberland*, was originally common to all the *Old Britains*. The *Caledonians* themselves are, by *Tacitus*,

¹ *Spartian*, p. 3. ² *Di.*, l. lxix. p. 171. ³ *Strab.*, p. 273. ⁴ *Script. Hist. Aug. Ed. Paris 1620*, p. 19.

called *Britains*, and the inhabitants of the *Lowlands* of *Scotland* were, before the *Romans* came hither, either dependants and vassals of the *Brigantes* properly so called, or at least confederates with them, and of their race; having the same divinity for their particular patroness, as appears from the inscription on an altar dug up in *Scotland*, and inscribed to the goddess *Brigantia*. These people all lived wild and dispersed, till the *Romans* came among them; when the chief method taken to civilize them, was by getting them to live together in society, and by founding towns for their habitation. Hence it is, that *Ptolemy*, who wrote his geography in the time of *Titus Antoninus*, takes notice of towns in all the parts of *Scotland* conquered by *Agricola*, but mentions none in *Caledonia*. The inhabitants of that tract of mountains and forest were a very gallant people; but had no quarrel with the *Romans*, till *Agricola's* invasion: they then fought bravely in defence of their liberties, but I see no reason to think of them otherwise than as a quiet people, content with their simple and hardy way of living, and not fond of infesting their neighbours. But it is natural likewise to suppose, that abundance of the *Old Britains* or *Brigantes*, in the countries possessed by the *Romans*, either out of an aversion to their customs and servitude, or out of an animosity necessarily caused by hostilities and overthrows, retired upon *Agricola's* conquests, with their families, into the parts more northward, as yet unconquered by the *Romans*. Of these the famous *Galgacus*, chosen by the *Caledonians* for their general, as *Caratacus* in the like case had been by the *Silures*, probably was one; which Mr. *Baxter* thinks¹, is sufficiently proved by his *British* name of *Galauc ap Llienauc*, for so he is called by the ancient author of the *Triades*; and appears from thence to have been one of the *Scotch Brigantes*, and a chieftain or native of the county of *Galloway*.

It is reasonable to think likewise, that these *Refugees* continued quiet in the country, which had given them protection, whilst the terror of *Agricola's* victories subsisted, and the empire was at its height of power and glory in the reign of *Trajan*: but when after the space of forty years, *Hadrian* withdrew the *Roman* garrisons from the forts between *Cluyd* and *Forth*, they or their descendants might well enough return into their own country, re-enter into their old possessions, and continue unmolested in them, as long as they kept themselves quiet. This I suppose to be chiefly done in the eastern counties of the *Lowlands*, which were inhabited by the *Scoto-Brigantes*, and being full of bogs and woods, were most neglected by the *Romans*: but the case was different as to *Galloway*, and the adjoining counties inhabited by the *Neuantes*; a different people from the other, and divided from them by the river *Cluyd*, and the most advanced garrisons of the *Romans*; for such they had, as well beyond *Hadrian's vallum*, as beyond *Agricola's prætentura*, whilst it subsisted. This General had reduced all the country as far as the *Tay*, before he erected that *prætentura*; and though, conceiving the *Isthmus* between *Cluyd* and *Forth* to be the most proper place for it, he chose to erect it there, he still remained master of the country beyond that line of fortifications. The case was the same as to the countries beyond *Hadrian's wall*, bordering upon *Cumberland*, which were afterwards the best part of the kingdom of the *Cumbrian Britains*. These had a better and a richer soil than the others, and abounded with fine pastures for cattle; they had been more particularly the object of *Agricola's* care, and had been secured by him with more fortifications; perhaps with some view to a descent in *Ireland*: but yet not without regard to the goodness of the country,

¹ *Gloss. Ant. Brit. v. GALGACUS.* Videtur vel ex nomine fuisse *Noianta* sive *Galloüidius*: est autem *Llienauc* *Britannis Parthenius*, sive *furtivo* *toro genitus*: nam *Llian*, puella est, vel virgo:

unde conjecerim eum notho fuisse patre, est autem *Galauc* tanquam *Peregrinus*, *Gallicus*, vel *Scoto-brigas*.

A. D. 138. and its being the best road to march into the heart of *Scotland*. The coins and remains of the *Romans* still found there in greater plenty, than in other parts of *Scotlana*, shew it was longer in their hands; as may likewise naturally be presumed from its situation, being surrounded on all sides by the sea, and the river *Cluyd*, except where it touched on *Cumberland*, and was defended by the *Romans* advanced garrisons. *Hadrian* did not quit the forts between *Forth* and *Cluyd*, in consequence of any troublesome or expensive war, or out of any necessity, but purely out of a resolution he had formed to contract the boundaries of the empire here, as he had done in other places. But though he quitted those forts, there doth not appear any reason to conclude, he was not still master of the country that lay between them and his *vallum*; and that it did not remain subject to his authority, or at least under his protection. That Emperor had brought over with him the *Legio VI Victrix*, and left it here, when he went away: he kept all the army thus reinforced to the strictest discipline, and continually inured to hardship: he chose great men for his Legates; and *Julius Severus* was as eminent for justice, prudence, and military conduct as *Agricola*: and being at peace with all the world, it would have been down right madness in the *Refugees* above-mentioned to have made any attempt upon his territories. But hearing the news of his death; not knowing perhaps that he was succeeded by a greater man than himself, or hoping for some such disturbances or intestine wars as had happened formerly about the succession of the empire, they probably thought it a favourable opportunity, for entering by force upon the countries that still acknowledged the *Roman* authority. It seems to have been a very weak attempt, and immediately suppressed; for the wall of earth or turf was made, in consequence thereof, by *Lollius Urbicus*; who, to prevent the like inroads, thought fit to erect one between the *Firths* of *Cluyd* and *Forth*, where *Agricola* had made his *prætentura*: and this wall was built in the second year of *Titus Antoninus*, *A. D.* 140; when this emperor was in his third consulship, as appears undeniably from the 25th of the *Scotch* inscriptions in the *Britannia Romana*.

FROM all these considerations it appears, that the scene of this little excursion was between the two walls; for if the *Britains* had forced that of *Hadrian*, *Capitolinus* could not have omitted taking notice of it, when he mentions the building of a new one: nor would this last have prevented the like for the future, or have removed the barbarians concerned in it to a greater distance, if they had not been either the *Refugees* afore-mentioned, or the inhabitants of the intermediate provinces. The country they invaded, *Pausanias* calls *Genounia*; which seems to me to be *Galloway*, or the country where *Ptolemy* places the *Nouantæ*. These were a different people from the *Brigantes*; their name implying that they were *new comers*, and for that reason so called, as the *Belgic* colony about *London*, was called *Trinouantes*. Whether they were a colony of the *Belgic Britains*, (and they should be *Britains*, since *Alclud*, their capital, was called *Dun-britton*) or of any other *Celtic* nation settled there upon the old inhabitants removing into *Ireland*, which was most probably planted from thence, they certainly spoke a different dialect from that of the *Irish*, *Caledonians*, and other *Britains*: and the *Lowland Scots*, are in the *Irish* language to this day, called ¹ *Galldach na Halbuin*, from *Gall*, a stranger, which confirms *Baxter's* notion of *Galgacus's*, being a native of *Galloway*. This I take to be the country, called by *Pausanias*, *Genounia*; ² which describes their being

¹ *Lloyd's Arch. Brit. in Irish Dictionary, v. GALL.* ² For *Ge* is nothing but an article in *Old Britton*, to which *y* being since substituted, answers at present; and the termination is of little consequence, but the substance of the word *Nouanti*,

^a So it is in the old *Saxon*.

derived from the *British*, *Nou*, *novus*, and *Anned*, *Ant* or *Hant*, *habitatio*, is preserved in the word *Nounia*. See *Baxter's Gloss. Brit. v. GEBAN- NIUM* and *NOUVANTÆ*.

new comers, and expresseth very properly the country of those people, especially if their name be spelt in some old coins, as Mr. Baxter says, *Nouancei*, for then the country would of course be called *Nouanea*, and by adding *Gein*, i. e. *proles*, *offspring*, the people might be called *Geinouancei*, or a clan of the *Nouancei*. The Romans did not usually seize the lands of the people they conquered; except such as were necessary for the founding of a colony, when it was thought proper to establish one; but as they punished, what they called rebellion, with the utmost rigour, the estates of the persons concerned in this invasion, were confiscated on that occasion.

A. D. 140.

BRITAIN from that time seems to have been free from any commotion, and to have enjoyed the same peace, which (all historians agree) reigned over the whole empire, all the time of that excellent prince *Titus Antoninus*: who dying on *March 7*, A. D. 161, (*M. Aurelius Cæsar III.* and *L. Aurelius Commodus II.* consuls) was succeeded by *M. Aurelius*. Changes of government are generally favourable to the attempts of such as propose to embroil or invade a country: and the unconquered *Britains* prepared to lay hold on the occasion. *Calpurnius Agricola* was thereupon sent over *Proprætor*, probably in the first year of the new Emperor's reign, one of whose first acts was to dispatch him hither: and as he set out in order to take possession of this government, before *Lucius Verus* departed from *Italy*, on his *Asiatic* expedition, which was A. D. 162, (as appears from his medals) he probably arrived here in the beginning of that year, or at the latter end of the precedent. Whether any war actually broke out either then, or in A. D. 170, after the death of *Verus*, doth not appear from any historian. *Capitolinus*¹ speaks of it only as what was apprehended; and there is not the least hint of any action that passed, or of any thing to shew, it was so much as commenced: we may therefore conclude reasonably enough, that it was no great matter; and if there was any small disturbance, it was immediately suppressed.

A. D. 162.

BUT the situation of affairs was much altered by the death of *M. Aurelius*, on *March 17*, A. D. 180; he being succeeded by a son, very unlike his father,² and who might, by his conduct, pass rather for the offspring of a gladiator, than the issue of *M. Aurelius*. *Commodus* was not only cruel, but monstrously lewd; immersed in all manner of vices, and capable of the most enormous iniquities: furious, but a coward in his nature; lazy, indolent, and voluptuous; extravagantly lavish of the public treasure, and negligent of all the affairs of his empire. These he left to the management of his favourites; who getting rid of the wise counsellors, put about his person, or employed in business by his father, governed all things at their pleasure, and sent men of their own stamp into the provinces, to govern, fleece, and oppress them; preferring such either for being partners in their crimes and debauches, or for the sums of money which they laid down for their places, in hopes of reimbursing themselves at the expence of the people under their government. This rendering the prince contemptible, the people discontented, and the soldiery insolent, gave encouragement to the *Caledonians*, and other nations in the north of *Scotland*, to invade the *Roman* province; which, in the former reigns, they could not attempt with the least prospect of success. Assembling a strong body of forces,³ they broke through *Antoninus's* wall, cut in pieces the *Roman* general with his forces, and made terrible ravages over all the neighbouring countries. *Commodus*, in this distress, was forced to send over in all haste a *Proprætor* capable of such a command: and *Ulpius Marcellus* was chosen for that purpose; a man above corruption; modest, but brave in his person; an excellent soldier: rough in his nature, vigilant, indefatigable; who, by his example, as much as his severity, soon brought the troops to endure hardships, and

A. D. 180.

¹ *Jul. Capitolin.* p. 25, and 31.

² *Lamprid. vit. Commod. Dio.* l. lxxii.

³ *Dio.* ib. p. 820.

- A. D. 180.* restored the discipline of the army. The *Caledonians* were now beaten in their turn, and driven back with such slaughter in various engagements, that they seem to have remained quiet all the rest of this Emperor's reign, without attempting another invasion. This passed before *A. D. 183*, when *Commodus* (as appears by his medals) assumed the title of *Britannicus*, for victories which gained *Marcellus* so much honour, as had like to have cost him his life, through the envy and jealousy of his master on that occasion; such too frequently is the undeserved fate of distinguished merit under wicked princes. When the Emperor removed *Marcellus*, it is likely that he sold the government of this island, as he usually did others, to the most worthless persons, they being generally the highest bidders: for we find soon after a general complaint of all the army in *Britain*, that they were commanded, not by persons of senatorial dignity, as they ever used, but by others of the equestrian order; and this complaint being sent to *Rome*, with a numerous deputation from all the legions, contributed greatly to the ruin of *Perennis*, the *præfectus prætorii*, who was delivered up to the rage of the soldiers in
- A. D. 186.* *A. D. 186.* *Pertinax*, afterwards Emperor, was thereupon sent over as *Proprætor*, in order to bring the soldiers to their duty; who having no enemy to encounter in the field, and holding their governour in great contempt, were grown headstrong, mutinous, and insupportable. It was no easy matter for him, with all his great talents, to effect; and in attempting it, one of the mutinous legions having recourse to their arms, a great deal of blood was spilt, and he was left for dead on the spot; recovering however, he at last, with infinite pains, succeeded so far, as to quell the sedition, and restore quiet to the province. This gained him a great deal of reputation; and notwithstanding his severity, the troops esteemed him to such a degree, that they, as well as the people, wished to see him emperor: but they had so violent an aversion to that exact discipline, which he would force them always to observe, that it gave him a continual uneasiness, and he wrote to court desiring to be recalled. He obtained his request after the death of *Arrius Antoninus*, who suffered in *A. D. 189*. It is very probable he was succeeded by *Clodius Albinus*; who, though he gave great offence to his master, by a speech, which on a false report of his death, he had made to the army, still continued in possession of the government at the death of *Commodus*, who was killed in the night of *December 31, A. D. 192* ².

The time of
Britain's con-
version to
Christianity.

VIII. *ELEUTHERUS*, bishop of *Rome*, was contemporary with this Emperor, in whose reign the church enjoying a continual peace, free from all manner of persecution; *Baronius* and others think it the most likely time for the conversion of *Britain* to *Christianity*, in the manner related by *Bede* and others, who believed the story of king *Lucius*. *Eleutherus* succeeded *Soter* in that see *A. D. 177*, and died *A. D. 192*, some months before *Commodus*. Thus the first three years of his pontificate passing in the reign of *M. Aurelius*, and mankind being naturally disposed to ascribe to persons and events that contribute to their glory, the greatest antiquity which they possibly can, with any colour of reason or probability; the generality of writers are willing to imagine this conversion happened in the time of that Emperor; the miraculous deliverance of whose army, ready to expire with thirst, in the war against the *Quadi*, *A. D. 174*, is supposed to have made a great noise, and to have given occasion to the sudden conversion of a whole nation. The learned *Usher* ³ hath collected above twenty different opinions as to the time, when *Lucius* was converted, and held his correspondence with *Eleutherus*: but it cannot be worth while to examine them, when the story itself is false, and the letters evidently spurious. It seems

¹ *Goltz.* p. 81. *Bir.* p. 247, 248.

² *Dio.* l. lxxii.

³ *Antiq. Brit.* c. 3. p. 20.

to have been invented between the time of *Gildas*, (whose design led him to speak of it, and yet he doth not mention so much as the name of *Lucius*) and that of *Bede*: and the whole story is so inconsistent with the state of *Britain* in that age, and so incredible in the circumstances with which it is decorated, that we may deem it one of those relations, which this last writer says, in the preface to his *Ecclesiastical History*, he would not warrant, but delivered purely upon common report.

THAT there was a *Christian* prince called *Lucius*, in some part or other of this island, seems probable from the two coins mentioned by ¹ *Usher*, and stamped with the image of a king, the letters L V C. to shew his name, and the sign of the *Cross* to denote his being a *Christian*. The name not being originally *British*, might either be assumed by him as a *Roman Prænomen*, or given him as an *Agno-men*, on account of his being converted and receiving the *Light* of the Gospel; for which reason his countrymen gave him the title or appellation of *Lever Maur*, i. e. great light or splendour: as they did that of ² *Cannaid*, i. e. the bright, (by *Latin* writers called *Hilarius*) to St. *Eliau*, who about A. D. 450, founded the church of *Lban Eliau* in *Anglesey*. Those who adopt the story are not agreed in their sentiments about the place, where this prince could be supposed to reign, consistent with the state of affairs at that time in *Britain*: Some thinking, he ruled over the *Britains* beyond *Hadrian's Vallum*, and others that he was a subordinate king to the *Romans* in some other quarter of the island. The learned bishop ³ *Stillingfleet* is of this last opinion, and guesses him to be some descendant of king *Cogidumnus*; who by the favour of the Emperor *Claudius* retained his royalty, and governed some other countries besides his own, under the title of *imperial Legate*. He was prince of the *Dobuni* that inhabited *Gloucestershire*; and *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, in saying *Lucius* was buried at *Gloucester*, assigns no improper place for the sepulture of a descendant of *Cogidumnus*: but the bishop supposeth him to have been king of the *Regni*; because there are very few remains of the *Romans*, either of their roads, buildings, coins, urns, or inscriptions to be found in *Surrey* or *Sussex*, the seat of that people. This reason, were it better justified by fact than it is in reality, doth not yet appear to me very conclusive; because the vast forest of *Anderida*, which in their time covered a good part of the former, and well nigh all the latter country, accounts very easily for the scarcity of such monuments; it being as little likely to expect them there in a quarter they did not inhabit, as in the forest of *Dartmore* in *Devon*. Nor is there any reason to think, that this subordinate royalty should be continued in *Cogidumnus's* family so low as the time of *M. Aurelius*: for though the *Romans* allowed such dependant kings, it was always on their frontiers, and seldom or never in the heart of their dominions; especially when the country was entirely pacified and liable to no invasion or disturbance. When *Cogidumnus* was indulged in this respect, the *Romans* stood in need of his assistance; but as he lived till the time of *Trajan*, far from having any occasion then for it, the allowing his descendants to enjoy the like royalty, would not have been agreeable to their usual policy; because it would have been an obstruction to the compleat settlement of their province. The *Scotch* historians seem to be sensible of this, when they make *Lucius* to be the last king of the *Britains*; ⁴ *Fordon* saying, “ that upon his death the *British* royal line was extinct, and “ the *Romans* instead of kings appointed tribunes to govern the country; and *Hec-* “ *tor Boëthius* ⁵ adding that the *Romans* finding kings were the authors of many se-

¹ *Antiq. Brit.* c. iii. p. 22.
p. 60. &c.

² *Mon. Antiq.* p. 143, 156.

³ *Antiq. of British Churches*, c. ii.

⁴ *Scoti-Chron.* l. ii. 31.

⁵ *Histor. Scot.* l. v.

A. D. 189. “ditions and insurrections of those people, provided on that occasion by a public decree, that none of *British* blood should for the future be ever invested with the royal dignity.”

It must be owned, that from the inscription, found at ¹ *Chichester* since that great man's death, something may be drawn to favour his notion; if instead of making *Lucius* live in the time of *Commodus* and *Eleutherus*, he was allowed to be contemporary with *Trajan*, and *Evaristus*, who was bishop of *Rome* on the death of *St. Clemens*, *A. D.* 100, and lived till *Oct.* 26. *A. D.* 109. The altar on which that inscription is engraved, was erected by the authority of king *Cogidumnus* the Emperor's Legate in the country of the *Regni*; which seems to be part of those additional territories given him by *Claudius*, whose name of *Tiberius Claudius* he assumed for his *Prænomen* upon having the *jus civitatis* or *senatorum*, conferred upon him, as it had been upon all the nobility of *Gaule*; and the *Area* on which it was erected was the gift of *Pudens* son of *Pudentinus*. It was natural for *Cogidumnus*, when he had, according to the *Roman* custom on such occasions, taken the name of his patron, and been thereby admitted, into his tribe, to give his daughter the name of *Claudia*: and the opportunities, which his friendship or acquaintance with *Pudens* afforded the latter of observing the wit, beauty, noble sentiments and fine accomplishments of the young lady, might give occasion to the marriage, which is celebrated by ² *Martial*; who calls her a *British* lady and gives her the name of *Claudia Rufina*. *St. Paul* makes no mention of them in his *Epistle to the Romans*; which was wrote during the three months he passed at *Corinth* in the latter end of *A. D.* 57, or beginning of *A. D.* 58; so that probably they were not then come out of *Britain*, or at least not converted; but in that which he wrote to *Timothy*, as he was going to appear the second time before *Nero*, a little before his martyrdom, which happened on *June* 29. *A. D.* 66, he speaks of both as *Christians*, and ³ sends their greetings to *Timothy*. This year coincides with the twelfth and thirteenth of *Nero's* reign, so that she might well be grown up to be marriageable by that time, though her father was but young, when he first submitted to *Claudius*: and *Domitian* coming to the throne in *A. D.* 81, she might still be a fine woman in his reign, when the same poet (who came to *Rome* in *Nero's* time, and left it on the death of *Domitian*) makes her elogium in another epigram ⁴. We may very reasonably suppose, that a zealous *Christian*, like *Claudia*, would use her best endeavours to make her brother or nephew like herself; and that a person of her very good sense, to say nothing of her other advantages, was likely enough to prevail: and in such case, if we allow the *Romans* to continue the title of king to the immediate successor of *Cogidumnus*, whether his son or grandson, we have here a *British* king contemporary with *Evaristus* bishop of *Rome*; who in some copies of *Nennius*, is said to be the correspondent of *Lucius*, and to have sent over the teachers that converted *Britain*. This is giving *Dr. Stillingfleet's* notion all the advantage of which it is capable: and I was willing to do it before I advance my own, and offer those reasons which oblige me to differ from so many learned men, as have wrote upon this subject.

It is something extraordinary, that two of the most distinguished ladies, that embraced *Christianity* in the Apostles days, should be *Britains*: for such likewise was *Pomponia Græcina*, the wife of *A. Plautius* who had been Proprætor of the *Roman* province in this island; and she seems an earlier convert than *Claudia*, having in *A.* 57, been prosecuted (as ⁵ *Tacitus* tells us) and in danger of losing her life, for her religion. But as these conversions were in all appearance made at *Rome*,

¹ *Brit. Rom.* p. 336.

² *L.* iv. Ep. 13.

³ *2 Tim.* iv. 21.

⁴ *L.* xi. Ep. 54.

⁵ *Tacit. Ann.* l. xiii. c. 32.

I see no reason from thence to conclude that the Gospel was preached here so early, *A. D.* 189. as hath been gathered from a passage in *Gildas* misunderstood. The *Glastenbury* tale of *Joseph* of *Arimathea* is sufficiently exploded, and the opinion of St. *Paul's* travelling into *Britain*, and other parts of the west, when he was freed from his first imprisonment at *Rome*, is founded originally on his having entertained the thoughts of a voyage to *Spain*¹ when he wrote his *Epistle to the Romans*, and on the mistakes of some ancient writers, who took it for granted, that he had executed that design². *Sulpitius Severus* a native of *Aquitaine*, who lived in the latter end of the fourth, and in the beginning of the fifth century, a man of noble birth, ample fortune, great piety and learning, observes³ that the *Christian* religion made its way very late on this side the *Alpes*: and the first martyrs in *Gaule*, were those of *Lyon* in *A. D.* 177; when there seem to be no churches formed in that country, but those of *Lyon* and *Vienne*; though there were some scattered *Christians* also in the neighbouring parts of *Burgundy*. The same fact is asserted by the author of the acts of St. *Saturnin*, in *Surius's* collection; a writer little later in time than the other, and ancients than *Gregory of Tours*. Thus the case stood till the reign of the Emperor *Philip*, who came to the throne *A. D.* 244, when the church enjoying a calm season, ⁴ St. *Denis*, the apostle of *France*, St. *Trophimus*, St. *Paul*, St. *Saturnin*, St. *Austremoine*, and St. *Martial*, the first bishops and founders of the churches of *Paris*, *Arles*, *Narbonne*, *Toulouse*, *Clermont*, and *Limoges*, were ordained at *Rome*, and sent to propagate the faith in *Gaule*. The rest settling in the southern provinces, St. *Denis* advanced into the heart of the country as far as *Paris*; where he preached several years with great success, and at last (as *M. de Launoy* maintains) suffered under *Diocletian*; not in the great persecution begun *A. D.* 303, but in another which was peculiar to the west, (as the⁵ acts of his martyrdom represent it) and brought upon the church in *A. D.* 286, by the fury of *Maximian Herculus*; who, coming that year into *Gaule*, began the persecution, which he continued as long as he stayed there, *i. e.* to *A. D.* 292. St. *Rufin*, St. *Valerius*, St. *Crispin*, and his brother, with a great many other ecclesiastics, who had come from *Rome* with St. *Denis*, suffered (as the several acts of their martyrdom concur in attesting) in the same persecution, when the remains of the *Theban* legion were also put to death at *Triers*; the præfect *Rictius Varus* (who dyed *A. D.* 288) being in all cases the chief instrument to put the cruel orders of *Maximian* in execution.

THE case was much the same in *Britain*; where in proportion to its greater distance from the east, the *Christian* religion must be slower in making its way, than in *Gaule*, the onely country, in a manner, with which the *Britains* held any correspondence. I do not doubt, but that there were particular *Christians* here much earlier, and the brass medal of our *Saviour*,⁶ with an *Hebrew* inscription on

¹ *Rom.* xv. 28.

² He wrote that *Epistle* at *Corinth*, and presently after set out on his journey into *Asia*; proposing to keep the feast of Pentecost at *Jerusalem*, where he arrived about the middle of *May*, *A. D.* 58. and was taken up in seven or eight days after. He continued in prison all the time of *Felix's* government, till after two years *Festus* coming into the other's place, and St. *Paul* appealing to *Cæsar*, he was sent to *Rome*; where after a voyage of several months, he arrived at the latter end of the winter, in the beginning of *A. D.* 61. and dwelt in his own house two years entire. He could not, therefore, leave that city sooner than *A. D.* 63. when he wrote to the *Hebrews*, acquainting them with his design of coming to see them with *Timothy*, who had been seen set at liberty. This pro-

bably he did, when after his own being discharged, he returned into the east, preaching in *Crete*, where he left *Titus* to finish the good work he had begun, and thence passing into *Asia*, where he ordained *Timothy*, bishop of *Ephesus*, and afterwards into *Macedonia*, whence he wrote him his first *Epistle*. His usual care of the churches, and making good his promises of visiting the *Jews*^a and *Philippians*, were sufficient employments to take up his time till *A. D.* 65. when he was again imprisoned, and suffered death the year following. He seems long before to have laid aside the thoughts of going into *Spain*, nor is there the least vestige of his being in that, or in any other country of the west of *Europe*.

^a *L.* ii. ⁴ *Du Bosquet's Eccles. Gallic.* l. v.

⁵ *Surius OEt.* xxv. ⁶ *Mona Antiq.* p. 141, 318, 320, &c.

^a *Heb.* xiii. 23. *Ep. Philem.* 22. ² *Tim.* iv. 13, 20. *Philipp.* ii. 14.

A. D. 189. it, importing, *This is Jesus Christ, the Mediator or Messiah*, taken up *A. D.* 1702, out of the rubbish of the chief tribunal of the *Druids* in *Anglesey*, looks as if some preacher of the *Christian* religion, had been there condemned and sacrificed by them, before they were extirpated, and their tribunal demolished by *Suetonius Paulinus*. But I am apt to think they were very few in number, and rather *Romans*, or other foreigners, than *Britains*: nor was there any formed church in this island till after *A. D.* 250; the highest point of time, to which their succession of bishops ascends in all the sees of *Gaule*, except *Lyon* and *Vienne*. No man of learning, however versed in the study of antiquity, or how indefatigable soever in his searches upon this subject, hath ever yet been able to find out so much as the name of any one bishop in *Britain* before that time, except what are founded purely upon the legend of *Lucius*: and the true reason why there was no persecution in this island, as there was in other parts of the empire, till that of *Diocletian*, appears plainly to have been, because till then there were no *Christians* here considerable enough to be remarked. By *Gildas's* account, there were but few even at that time; the *Christian* religion having been but lately introduced: and accordingly very few suffered, besides *St. Alban* (who is universally allowed to be the first *British* martyr) at *Verolam*, and *Julius* and *Aaron* at *Caerlon* upon *Uske*; the first a *Municipium*, the latter a *Roman colony*. The *Saxon chronicle* fixes this persecution in *A. D.* 283: but the acts of *St. Alban's* martyrdom, and other ancient writers¹ place it more rightly in *A. D.* 286; nor could it well be either earlier than the two last months of that year, or later than the year following.

DIOCLETIAN was proclaimed Emperor at *Chalcedon*, *September* 17, *A. D.* 284, when his æra, otherwise called the æra of the martyrs, commenced: and on *April* 1, *A. D.* 289, at *Nicomedia*, he declared *Maximian Herculus* his associate in the empire. This step was occasioned by the troubles raised in *Gaule* by the *Bagaudæ*, under *Aclian* and *Amandus*, who had assumed the purple: and *Maximian* having made preparations for the war at *Rome*, came on *September* 22, that year, with his army to the foot of the *Alpes*, in the *Valais*; and from thence marched into *Gaule*, where he decimated the legion, commanded by *St. Maurice*, and just come from the east, because they would not join in his idolatrous sacrifices. He soon reduced the *Bagaudæ*; and then began to persecute the *Christians* in all the western provinces, which were under his peculiar care, if not his share of the empire. These all suffered several years from his cruelty, except *Britain*; where *Carausius* setting up for Emperor in *A. D.* 287, and thinking it necessary not to shock his new subjects, by a series of inhuman barbarities, put a stop to the persecution. Nor was it ever renewed here afterwards; for *Constantius Chlorus* being on *March* 1, *A. D.* 292, declared *Cæsar*, and having *Gaule*, *Spaine*, and *Britain* assigned for his district of the empire, was so favourable to the *Christians* in those countries, that none of them suffered in his time: and even that terrible persecution, which began upon *Diocletian's* edict of *February* 23, *A. D.* 303, and was carried on with so much fury for ten years together in the east, that it eclipsed every thing of that kind which had passed in former times, never reached these western provinces under the government of *Constantius*. This prince allowed the *Christians* freely to profess their religion in all his dominions, as we are assured² by *Eusebius*, *Sozomen*, and the *Donatists* in their petition to his son *Constantine*: and the good effects of this liberty may more particularly be expected in *Britain*, which after *A. D.* 296, was (as³ *Zosimus* tells us) the place of his usual residence. This therefore is the time, when the *Christian* religion being preached without controul, perhaps with countenance and encouragement, we may expect to hear of its

¹ *Usher's Ant. Brit.* c. 7. p. 88.² *Ib.* p. 91.³ *L.* ii.

progress; of churches built, episcopal sees founded; (for before, such as were sent on a mission, like the Apostles, probably acted like bishops at large, as St. *Denis*, and his companions did at first in *Gaule*, without being confined to a particular district) *Dioceses* formed, and princes converted; and when likewise (if there be any foundation at all for his story) we ought to seek out for a *Lucius*.

CONSTANTIUS had, in the time of the Emperor *Aurelian*, married *Helena*, daughter of a *British* prince, named *Coil*, and generally styled, a king of the *Britains*. This title could not, at a time when all this island, as far north at least as *Hadrian's wall*, was reduced into the form of a province, be given to any toparch or potentate of the *Britains*, but one whose territories lay north of that boundary.

THOSE of *Coil* were so situated, his descendants having for many centuries after his time, and after the *Romans* had quitted this island, continued in possession of the kingdom of the *Cumbri*; which reached from *Lancashire* to *Dunbritton*, on the north side of the *Cluyd* in *Scotland*, the capital whereof in his days might be according to the *British* tradition ¹ *Colania*, as *Ptolemy* calls it, or *Colanica* as it is read in *Ravennas* ². This some take to be *Coldenham*, or *Coludi urbs*, as *Bede* calls it; others make it *Colecester*: but the author of *Britannia Romana* thinks it rather to be *Carstairs* near *Lancerk*, in the heart of the country between *Hadrian's vallum*, and that of *Antoninus*. Now, as all the *British* and *Scotch* writers, with one consent, make *Lucius* to be the son of *Coil*, if this prince shall be found to have a son, who might be called by that name, he may very justly be supposed, as brother-in-law to *Constantius*, and as uncle to *Constantine the Great*, to have interest enough with those Emperors, to perform the substance of what is ascribed to *Lucius* in the legend; to build churches, to erect sees, and to establish *Christianity* on the same footing, and with the like polity, as in other countries.

CONSTANTIUS ³ bears one of the finest characters in antiquity: and this is unanimously given him by all the writers of his time, by heathens, as well as *Christians*; who celebrate his virtues, unfulled by any vice, as rendering him worthy of the empire of the world, without a partner to share in the government. The gracefulness of his person; the serenity and sweetness of his look; the gravity and modesty of his air, attended with an obliging manner in all his behaviour, naturally bespoke the good opinion of mankind. He distinguished himself by his continence, a rare virtue in a *Roman* Emperor, his justice, prudence, piety, liberality, humanity, good nature, and the like valuable, as well as amiable qualities; which could not fail of making him equally beloved and esteemed by his subjects. He had perfected himself in the art of war, under the Emperors *Aurelian* and *Probus*; but he loved quiet, and was above ambition; he despised money, and hated pomp and parade: every thing was plain and simple about his palace, whence plate, and whatever served for magnificence and luxury, was entirely banished; so that he was forced to borrow such things from his friends, when it was requisite to make a shew upon public occasions. This procured him the *Agomen* of *Pauper*, and gave occasion to the well known passage of *Diocletian's* sending an officer to represent to him the ill consequences of his poverty, whom having desired to stay a few days, he shewed him such an immense quantity of plate and treasure, the zealous contributions of his rich subjects on that occasion, as amazed the messenger, and absolutely silenced the complaint. Whilst *Diocletian*

¹ So called perhaps from being the place of *Coil's* ordinary residence, from *Coil* and *amed* or *Aut*, i. e. *habitatio*: as *Buchanan* says, the county of *Gaile*, now spelt *Kyle*, in the same part of *Scotland*, derived its name from a *British* prince of the same name, and probably the same person.

² *Baxter's Gloss. Ant. Brit.* v. COLANICA,

COLDANA. *Camden's Brit.* p. 1179. *Brit. Rom.* p. 367, 495, 502. ³ *Laëtant. Pers.* c. 8 18, 20. *Eutrop.* *Suidas* in v. Παύρος. *Liban. Orat.* iii. c. 12. *Liwinii Panegy.* 5, 6, 9, 10. *Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* l. viii. c. 13, 17. *De vit. Constant.* l. i. c. 4, 13, 17.

A. D. 189.

ruined his part of the empire by excessive taxes, to glut his avarice in amassing wealth, and to supply his extravagance in the prodigious buildings, which his vanity put him upon erecting, *Constantius* employed all his care to ease his own provinces, and to enrich his people; choosing rather to have his money in their coffers, than in his own treasury: so that *Libanius* says very justly of him, that never prince loved money less, or was better beloved by his subjects. As to his religion, we are assured, that he believed the unity of the godhead, and consequently rejected the *Polytheism*, which was the fundamental principle of the heathen religion and superstitions: his favour likewise to the *Christians*, and protection of their religion are too well attested to admit of a dispute. When the other Emperors were persecuting in all places, especially in their own household, all that professed it, he took occasion to try the constancy of such *Christians* as were employed by himself, either in the offices of his household, or in the government of provinces: and told them they must either quit their posts, or sacrifice to the pagan deities. Some thereupon complying, and others refusing, he upbraided the former with an infidelity to their God; which forbade him to expect they could ever be faithful to their prince: and extolling the generosity of the latter, who had preferred their religion to all other considerations, employed them afterwards in all the charges of government, and in all offices about his person. Hence nothing, but œconomy, order, and regularity, was to be seen in his household: and prayers were daily offered up for him, by the *Christian* clergy, in every part of his palace; so that it looked like a church or *Christian* temple, rather than the abode of an Emperor. These are undoubted facts: and it is not unlikely, but he might choose to make his ordinary residence in *Britain*, the remotest corner of the *Roman* dominions, that they might be less remarked by *Diocletian* and *Maximian*, with whom he was obliged to keep measures; with the former out of gratitude, and with both for the peace of the empire; though they were the most virulent enemies of *Christianity*.

WHAT could not a prince of this character, thus infinitely esteemed and beloved, do, among his people; when all his ministers, by their sincere profession and zeal for *Christianity*, were ready to concur with him in promoting his intentions, in improving his favour, and in exerting their own best endeavours, in behalf of the *Christian* religion? It might very well be propagated, whilst he kept well with his colleagues, and episcopal sees be founded by the agency of those ministers, and by the diligence of the clergy that were admitted to his nearer presence, and celebrated divine service in his palace. But of all who co-operated towards this work in *Britain*, none were so likely to do it with success, as natives of the country: nor can any of these be supposed to have the same degree of confidence and familiarity with *Constantius*, as the brother of his wife *Helena*. *Bouchet*¹ indeed maintains that she had three sons by *Constantius*, the youngest of which was *Constantine*, and the second named *Lucius*, who having by some accident killed his elder brother, was thereupon put on board a ship with a great deal of treasure, and a number of ecclesiastics to attend him; and landing on the coast of *Poictou*, founded there the church of *Luxon*; quoting for this fact the history of that cathedral contained in an ancient hymn, still used in that church, and beginning with the words *Gaude, Lucionium*. But this hath no manner of foundation in history; and is contrary to all the *Welsh* genealogies: which however precarious their authority is before, do certainly deserve credit (especially in cases where they all agree together, though preserved in different families) after the knowledge and use of letters was introduced into the country; as undoubtedly it was upon their conversion to *Christianity*,

¹ *Annales d'Aquitaine*, P. i. c. 5.

every bishop's house being then a school for instruction in learning, and a seminary or college for educating and qualifying persons for the ministry of the gospel. A. D. 189.
 Now all these genealogies mention ¹ *Constantine* as the only son of *Constantius* by *Helena*, and assign *Coil* one son, who succeeding his father in the *Cumbrian* kingdom beyond the *Wall*, dyed without issue, and his right to that principality thereupon descended, by lineal succession, to his eldest sister *Helena*. This son of *Coil* is indeed called by them *Cenau* or *Kenau*: but as *St. Elian*, surnamed *Cannaid*, i. e. *bright, lucid, or luminous*, was by latinizing the sense of the word, called, by *Latin* writers, *Hilarius*; so *Cenau*, a word derived from the same root, and of the like signification, might as properly, when the *British* name was to be latinised, be rendered *Lucius*: and he might more naturally take it, than any other, at his baptism. He was, by his mother, the heir also of *North-wales*: and it is from his nephew *Cynetha*, that the old race of the princes of *Wales* lineally descended. *Cenau* being the chief instrument of propagating and settling the *Christian* religion in his own territories; which comprehended all those countries both in *Scotland* and *England*, where the *Old Britains* kept up separate kingdoms, governed by princes of his family, for several centuries after the *Saxons* came into this island; it is no wonder that he was celebrated among them by that *Christian* name of *Lucius*, under which he had done so great things for the service of religion, and the good of their nation.

THERE is a strong passion reigning in all countries, to carry up the antiquities of their nation to a greater height than either evidence or reason will allow: and in ages, when people vied with one another about the priority of their conversion to *Christianity*, it is no wonder that they took up with any pretence; and in defect of finding, invented some or other, in order to lay the earliest claim they possibly could to such a conversion. Thus *St. Denis*, the first bishop of *Paris*, was, for a long time, taken for *Denis* the *Arcopagite*; *Trophimus*, the first bishop of *Arles* was looked upon to be the *Trophimus* mentioned in *St. Paul's* epistles; *Martial* of *Limoges* passed for a near relation of *Stephen*, the first deacon; though none of them flourished till the middle of the third century: it would be easy to give five hundred other instances of the like nature. Thus it being generally known, that *Lucius*, the son of *Coil*, was the first *Christian British* prince, it was easy for bards or genealogists to mount up into ages of darkness, before the use of letters, and create what ancestors they pleased for another *Coil*², in order to place him nearer than he really was to the days of the apostles. But what is ascribed to *Lucius* in the legend, was utterly impracticable for any *British* prince or chieftain in any earlier age, than that of *Helena's* brother, and for him too without the favour or support of *Constantius*: and that this was the very time when churches were generally founded here, and bishops settled in sees and dioceses, seems confirmed by the old tradition, supported by ancient writers, and allowed by *Usher* and *Camden*, which ascribes the foundation of the church, and the erection of the see of *York* to *Constantius*, who probably made it the ordinary place of his residence. *Gildas* fixeth the time of the flourishing state of *Christianity* in this island, when churches were built, festivals observed with solemnity, and the *Christian* religion openly professed, to the tenth year after *St. Alban's* martyrdom: and it was just ten years after this martyr suffered, that *Constantius* came over to reduce *Allectus*, and to reside in *Britain*. In a word, no earlier time can with the least appearance of probability be assigned for so general a conversion, and for the establishing of dioceses in

¹ See the genealogy in *Mr. Rowland's Mona Antiqua*, p. 163. See also for the authentickness of their genealogies, p. 167, 168.

² Such as *Marius* taken from the country of

West-mar-land, on a wrong reading of an inscription there found, as if it had been *Marii Victoria*: and *Arviragus* from *Juvenal*, which I have shewn to be fictitious.

A. D. 189. this island, which yet was done before the council of *Arles* in *A. D.* 314: there is no foundation in history, but what is undoubtedly fabulous, to imagine there was any *British* king of the name of *Coil* besides him, that was the father of *Helena*, and *Cenau*, whom I suppose to be the true *Lucius*. All circumstances conspire to favour this conjecture; for besides what are already mentioned, *Fordon*, and all the *Scotch* historians, whose country, and the monasteries of it might possibly preserve some notices of what passed in their neighbourhood, in a kingdom within the bounds of *Scotland* itself, agree in assuring us that *Lucius* dyed without issue, and the *Welsh* genealogists say the same of *Cenau*. The two *British* coins also mentioned by *Camden*, with the inscription of *L V C*, and the sign of the cross upon them are a further presumption in favour of this conjecture; because the sign of the cross, was (I am persuaded) never stamped upon any coin till after *A. D.* 311, the year of *Constantine's* vision, or *A. D.* 312, when he gained his victory over *Maxentius*: and *Cenau* may reasonably be supposed to survive these events, since his elder sister *Helena* lived to *A. D.* 328.

Affairs of Bri-
tain under Se-
verus.

A. D. 193. IX. THE legend of *Lucius* having fixed the general conversion of this island about the time of *Commodus*, this was the proper place to insert a disquisition on a subject; which, though of an ecclesiastical nature, is too important to be omitted in a civil history: the course whereof now leads me to take notice of the civil wars, which followed the death of that Emperor. *Pertinax* succeeded; a man of virtue, fitted to reform the corruptions of the state and army, if they had not been too generally spread, and too firmly rooted to admit a cure: but the apprehension of his design, abilities, and firmness alarming the prætorian troops, which of all the *Roman* forces wanted most such a reformation, they murdered him on *March* 28; and sold the empire to *Didius Julianus*, a rich worthless mortal, whom royalty itself could not save from being contemptible. The news of the death of *Pertinax*, who was beloved by the Legions, and esteemed by all the world, filled the armies in the provinces with resentment: and put them, in their eagerness for revenge, upon desiring their own commanders to assume the purple. Thus *C. Pescennius Niger* was declared Emperor in the east, and *Septimius Severus* in *Illyria* about the beginning of *May*: it was expected too, that *Clodius Albinus* a good soldier, but full of himself, and no great politician, would be proclaimed in the same manner at the head of a very brave and numerous body of forces which he commanded in *Britain*. *Severus* was nearest to the capital of the empire: and marching hastily to *Rome* with his army, was acknowledged by the senate; who had, upon his approach, given orders for killing *Julian*, then deserted by every body, even by the prætorians. He had still two dangerous competitors to contend with; and resolving first to reduce *Niger*, gave the title of *Cæsar* to *Albinus*; to keep him quiet, and flatter his hopes of being at last Emperor. *Niger* was slain *A. D.* 194: but *Severus* being taken up in the east, by a war with the *Parthians*, did not break openly with *Albinus* till *A. D.* 129: when both made preparations for war; and the latter having assumed the purple in *Britain*, passed the sea with his forces into *Gaule*; where being well beloved, and of a nobler family than his adversary, he gained the armies on the *Rhine* over to his party. The dispute was terminated by a bloody battle fought on *February* 19, *A. D.* 197, on a large plain between *Trevoux* and *Lyon*; in which *Severus* having the advantage over his rival, who killed himself upon his defeat, dispatched immediately *Virius Lupus*, with the title of *Proprætor*, into *Britain*, to oppose any invasion which the *Caledonians* might be tempted to make upon the province, whilst it was left in a weak condition by the absence of the forces, which *Albinus* had carried out of the country. The emperor stayed some time in *Gaule*, to settle his affairs in the west: and it was during this stay,

A. D. 197.

that among other regulations (as *Herodian*¹ says) he divided the government of *Britain* into two provinces. *Lupus* found, on his arrival, that the² *Mæatæ*, assisted by the *Caledonians*, had seized the opportunity, and made incursions into the *Roman* territories: but not having force enough to revenge the insult, he thought it the most prudent way to make peace with the enemy, and pay a sum of money for the redemption of the captives.

THIS peace seems to have continued for a good while without any violation, till about *A. D.* 207, when those two northern nations made another irruption into the province, but were defeated by³ the *Roman* generals; upon which *Severus*, then at peace in all other quarters of his empire, took upon him (as appears by the inscriptions of this⁴ year) for the twelfth time the title of *Imperator*. Notwithstanding this ill success, they renewed their incursions and made such ravages in the country, that the *Roman* governor was⁵ forced to send for fresh supplies: and *Severus*, glad of an opportunity to draw his sons from the pleasures of *Rome*, to keep his soldiers in action, and to acquire himself the glorious title of *Britannicus*, resolved to march in person with an army into *Britain*. He was so infirm and crippled by the gout, that he could not ride, and was forced to travel all the way in a litter: but he was so intent upon his expedition, that he scarce allowed himself to rest in any place, till he arrived in this island; which, agreeable to a passage in⁶ *Dio*, he seems to have done the year following. The arrival of an Emperor, terrible by his military skill, in which he had no equal, and by his inflexible severity in the punishment of injuries, the number of his forces, and the fame of his mighty preparations, particularly of pontons, machines, and materials for passing over bogs and piercing through mountains, struck such a terror into the enemy, that seeing they were now to be attacked in their strongest fastnesses, and securest retreats, they sent ambassadors to sue for peace, but without effect. This enemy consisted of a great number of *Clanns* or tribes of people, independent of each other (for which reason *Dio* thought their government democratical) and distinguished by particular denominations: but all of them comprehended under the general names of *Mæatæ* and *Caledonians*. Both these nations led the same kind of life; and were armed in the same manner, as the *Old Britains* their ancestors in the time of *Agricola*. Their offensive arms were a short spear, a broad sword, a durk, and javelins; of defensive, they had none, but a small target, without either corselet or helmet. Their habitations were either upon high mountains or uncultivated plains and marshes; those of the *Caledonians* probably in the first, which were then covered with woods, and those of the *Mæatæ* in the⁷ plains. They lived in tents, dispersed without either walls, or towns, or tillage; so that their food was chiefly roots, wild fruits, the milk or flesh of their cattle, and what game they took in hunting: they had another kind of eatable, very convenient in a long march; for a quantity of it no bigger than a bean, prevented their feeling either thirst or hunger; they never tasted fish, though they had it in prodigious plenty. They marked their bodies with the figures of various kinds of animals; and this perhaps was the reason why they wore no cloaths, going generally naked in most parts of their body, and without shoes: wives they had in common, breeding up the children they bore without distinction; and made no scruple of pilfering, as if every thing else was likewise common. They were very swift of foot, and trod surely; nimble, active, used to fatigue, to bear hunger, thirst, labour, and all kind of hardships. They would run up to the neck in bogs, and stay there for days together without eating: their horses were small, but fleet and nimble;

¹ L. iii. c. 24.² *Dio*, l. lxxv. & *Theodosio*, p. 851.³ L. lxxvi. p. 865.⁴ *Omnibr.* p. 245.⁵ *Herodian*, l. iii.⁶ L. lxxvi.⁷ So called from *Meath*, *planities*.

A. D. 207. and they still retained the ancient custom of fighting in chariots. Thus it is that *Dio* and *Herodian* describe the *Mæatæ* and *Caledonians* of their days, in such a manner as shews clearly they were of the race of the old *Brigantes*; with whom they still agreed in customs as well as language.

A. D. 208. As to the situation of their respective countries, *Dio* says, the *Mæatæ* lived next the wall, and the *Caledonians* beyond them: but still some make a question, whether he means *Hadrian's vallum*, or that of *Antoninus*; though it is very clear, he ought to be understood of the latter. When *Hadrian* chose to make his *vallum* between *Tyne* and *Sokway Frith*, and to fix in the towns there already founded, the stations of a greater number of forces than could be contained with any convenience in the smaller extent of *Agricola's prætentura*, he did this without any necessity brought upon him by the enemy. The *Roman* empire never was in a more flourishing condition, nor ever had a series of greater princes on the throne, or who were more careful to choose excellent governours for their provinces, than from the time of *Trajan*, to the end of the reign of *Severus*, excepting only *Commodus*: and though the enemy might sometimes make incursions into the country between the two walls, (which gave occasion to *Lollius Urbicus's* erecting the more northern) I see no reason, but to think that the *Romans* continued through all those reigns, to be masters of all that intermediate country. They might perhaps imagine, that the inhabitants of it being of the same original, and *Britains*, like the others, would not be disturbed by them in their possessions; when they held them only under the protection of the *Romans*, and not with the same air of subjection, as when the *prætentura* of forts between *Forth* and *Chyd* was filled with *Roman* garrisons, and prevented all the freedom of correspondence betwixt them and their countrymen, yet unsubdued. To imagine that they either gave up their authority over it in *Hadrian's* time, or withdrew their garrisons from the *vallum* erected by *Lollius Urbicus*, are notions founded merely upon vain surmises, and utterly unsupported by any fact in history. But then it must be observed, that it doth not appear, that this tract of country was at that time reduced, like the more southern parts of *Britain*, into the form of a province. The people who inhabited it had still in some parts their chieftains; in others their princes, whom several united clans or people acknowledged for their head; and all under the protection of the *Roman* empire; as was very usual in the east, in those countries which bordered upon the *Parthians*, *Scythians*, or other enemies of the *Romans*. They were in the same condition as the *Iceni*, upon *Claudius's* invasion, and before their insurrection in the time of *Ostorius*: and were both looked upon and treated as allies and confederates of the *Romans*. This is plainly enough insinuated in the very passage of *Dio*, whence this relation is taken; theirs being the country undoubtedly, into which, as τὴν Φιλίαν (the country of friends and allies) *Severus* retired with his army, after he had made peace with the *Caledonians*; for all the other parts of this island, south of *Hadrian's wall*, being provincial subjects, could never bear the character of friends or confederates, or be spoken of in any other terms, than as parts of the province.

This is still more evident from the geography of *Ptolemy*; who, though he mistakes sometimes in their situation, is an irrefragable testimony of there being a good number of towns in this part of the country; all probably of *Roman* original, or at least owing to their care, in civilizing the natives, and engaging them to live together in society: whereas *Dio* says expressly, that neither the *Caledonii* nor *Mæatæ* had any walled towns, or others with contiguous habitations. *Herodian* too tells us, that *Severus* passed with his army over more than one *vallum* (χωματὰ, aggeres) which served for boundaries of the *Roman* territories (the one of their province, the other of their associates) before he entered the enemies country;

country; so that the *Mæatæ* undoubtedly lived beyond the wall of *Antoninus*, in *Monteith*, *Stratberne*, *Fife*, *Angus*, and the more level parts of the country beyond the *Tay*, running along the eastern shore of *Scotland*. These countries abound with such meers and marshes, as *Severus* was prepared to meet with in his march; the great difficulties thereof arising, not from the opposition of the enemy, for he never fought a battle, nor saw an hostile army drawn up in array, but from the nature and situation of the places, through which he was obliged to pass with his forces. He was every where forced to cut down woods, to pierce through hills, to make causeways through bogs, and lay bridges over rivers; which lost a great deal of time, and answered the enemies view of spinning out the war, and wasting his army by continual fatigues. They were too weak to meet him in the field, but never failed improving every opportunity of drawing his men into ambuscades, and of attacking them in little parties; leaving flocks of sheep, and herds of cattle designedly within their sight, to tempt them to straggle for booty, and surprizing them on a sudden when so dispersed. Several tumultuary skirmishes happened on such occasions; and though the *Britains* were always defeated, they still saved themselves without any considerable loss, in bogs and woods, by their knowledge of the country: whilst the victorious *Romans* were by these rencounters, but chiefly by their fatigues, lessened near fifty thousand of their number. *Severus*, however, being unalterably resolved to march through all *Caledonia*, advanced at last near the very extremity of the island; where he made observations on the course of the sun in those parts, and the different length of days and nights both in summer and winter; so that he must pass at least half a year in this expedition, and could not return from it till the year following. At last he came to a treaty with the *Caledonians*, and peace being made with them on the delivering up of their arms, *Severus* returned back with his forces into the country of his allies, who (as appears from the relation which follows of *Caracalla's* attempt to assassinate his father) had joined him in this expedition. This peace seems to have been celebrated by a medal struck on the occasion; there being still preserved one of this Emperor's coins ¹ found at *Cramond*, a *Roman* station near *Edinburgh* (where several inscriptions have been dug up) and bearing on the reverse this legend, FUNDATOR PACIS: *Severus* also hereupon assumed the title of *Britannicus Maximus* ². Public works and buildings were a principal part of the *Roman* magnificence; the best of their Emperors looking upon the erection thereof as a proper subject of glory. *Severus* had the same taste; and notwithstanding his excellent œconomy in the management of his revenue, and in retrenching all superfluous expences, he had laid out vast sums in repairing all the edifices at *Rome*, which had been erected by former Emperors, and in building new ones exceedingly magnificent, ³ not only in that metropolis, but in abundance of other cities in the empire. He detested idleness in the soldiery, and loved business to the last moment of his life: thus having no longer any war upon his hands, to employ either them or himself, when he returned from his *Caledonian* expedition into the *Roman* province, he resolved to repair, and make additions to the wall of *Hadrian*. This last named Emperor's *vallum* being made only of earth and turf; *Severus*, to outdo his predecessor, built a wall of stone for about seventy-three *Roman* miles, along the same track of ground, and near enough to be a strengthening of the other, though not upon the same foundation: and executed it in such a manner, that *Spartian*, and other writers, consider it as the greatest glory of his reign. It was finished in *A. D.* 210; when *Severus* coming to *York*, fell into the tedious illness of which he died at last, after having been often

A. D. 208.*A. D.* 209.*A. D.* 210.¹ *Brit. Rom.* p. 62.² *Goltz.* p. 88.³ *Dio.* l. lxxvi.

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THIS is still more evident from the geography of *Ptolemy*; who, though he mistakes sometimes in their situation, is an irrefragable testimony of there being a good number of towns in this part of the country; all probably of *Roman* original, or at least owing to their care, in civilizing the natives, and engaging them to live together in society: whereas *Dio* says expressly, that neither the *Caledonians* nor *Mæatæ* had any walled towns, or others with contiguous habitations. *Herodian* too tells us, that *Severus* passed with his army over more than one *vallum* (χώματα, aggeres) which served for boundaries of the *Roman* territories (the one of their province, the other of their associates) before he entered the enemies' country

country; so that the *Mæatæ* undoubtedly lived beyond the wall of *Antoninus*, in *A. D. 208.*
Menteith, *Stratberne*, *Fife*, *Angus*, and the more level parts of the country beyond the *Tay*, running along the eastern shore of *Scotland*. These countries abound with such meers and marshes, as *Severus* was prepared to meet with in his march; the great difficulties thereof arising, not from the opposition of the enemy, for he never fought a battle, nor saw an hostile army drawn up in array, but from the nature and situation of the places, through which he was obliged to pass with his forces. He was every where forced to cut down woods, to pierce through hills, to make causeways through bogs, and lay bridges over rivers; which lost a great deal of time, and answered the enemies view of spinning out the war, and wasting his army by continual fatigues. They were too weak to meet him in the field, but never failed improving every opportunity of drawing his men into ambuscades, and of attacking them in little parties; leaving flocks of sheep, and herds of cattle designedly within their sight, to tempt them to straggle for booty, and surprizing them on a sudden when so dispersed. Several tumultuary skirmishes happened on such occasions; and though the *Britains* were always defeated, they still saved themselves without any considerable loss, in bogs and woods, by their knowledge of the country: whilst the victorious *Romans* were by these rencounters, but chiefly by their fatigues, lessened near fifty thousand of their number. *Severus*, however, being unalterably resolved to march through all *Caledonia*, advanced at last near the very extremity of the island; where he made observations on the course of the sun in those parts, and the different length of days and nights both in summer and winter; so that he must pass at least half a year in this expedition, and could not return from it till the year following. At last he came to a treaty with the *Caledonians*, and peace being made with them on the delivering up of their arms, *Severus* returned back with his forces into the country of his allies, who (as appears from the relation which follows of *Caracalla's* attempt to assassinate his father) had joined him in this expedition. This peace seems to have been celebrated by a medal struck on the occasion; there being still preserved one of this Emperor's coins¹ found at *Cramond*, a *Roman* station near *Edinburgh* (where several inscriptions have been dug up) and bearing on the reverse this legend, *FUNDATOR PACIS*: *Severus* also hereupon assumed the title of *Britannicus Maximus*². Public works and buildings were a principal part of the *Roman* magnificence; the best of their Emperors looking upon the erection thereof as a proper subject of glory. *Severus* had the same taste; and notwithstanding his excellent œconomy in the management of his revenue, and in retrenching all superfluous expences, he had laid out vast sums in repairing all the edifices at *Rome*, which had been erected by former Emperors, and in building new ones exceedingly magnificent, not only in that metropolis, but in abundance of other cities in the empire. He detested idleness in the soldiery, and loved business to the last moment of his life: thus having no longer any war upon his hands, to employ either them or himself, when he returned from his *Caledonian* expedition into the *Roman* province, he resolved to repair, and make additions to the wall of *Hadrian*. This last named Emperor's *vallum* being made only of earth and turf; *Severus*, to outdo his predecessor, built a wall of stone for about seventy-three *Roman* miles, along the same track of ground, and near enough to be a strengthening of the other, though not upon the same foundation: and executed it in such a manner, that *Spartian*, and other writers, consider it as the greatest glory of his reign. It was finished in *A. D. 210*; when *Severus* coming to *York*, fell into the tedious illness of which he died at last, after having been often

*A. D. 209.**A. D. 210.*¹ *Brit. Rom.* p. 62.² *Goltz.* p. 88.³ *Dio.* l. lxxvi.

A. D. 210. on the point of expiring. It was probably during one of these extremities, that reflecting with satisfaction on his own great actions, and the events of his reign, he broke out into those expressions, which *Spartian* relates as some of his own words; "That at his coming to the throne, he had found disturbances in all parts of the empire, but he left it quiet every where, even in *Britain*." This could not be said immediately before his death, because the *Maiatæ*, having been forced upon the peace to give up a good part of their country (probably in *Menteith*, *Fife*, and *Stratherne*¹, where there are still seen the remains of several *Roman* encampments, though not possessed long enough to form such towns as were usually built adjoining to a settled station) and now encouraged by the news of the emperor's illness, and the sure prospect of an eternal enmity between his sons that were to succeed him in the empire, had taken up arms to recover their possessions, and were assisted by the *Caledonians*. *Severus*, enraged at this violation of the peace, ordered his army to march into their country, and to destroy it with fire and sword, sparing neither women nor children: but being unable to go in person on this expedition, his orders were ill executed. *Caracalla* was at the head of the army: but impatient under the delays of his father's death, and in continual hopes of that event, took more pains to court the troops, and to engage them in his party against his brother *Geta*, than to offend the enemy; though he had marched into their territories before the death of *Severus*, which happened at *York* on *February* 4,

A. D. 211. *A. D. 211.* *Caracalla* thereupon made peace with the enemy, and having received their hostages for performance of the conditions, retired with his forces out of the country of the *Maiatæ*, who probably recovered what they had made a cession of before, the historian saying², that the Emperor withdrew likewise his garrisons. His great ambition was to be sole Emperor: but all his caresses and promises could not draw the army into his measures. The soldiers took the oath of fidelity to both the brothers; who went together to *Rome* attending their father's ashes, which were reposed in the *Mausoleum* of *Hadrian*: but there *Caracalla* found means to gratify his furious ambition, and implacable hatred of *Geta*, by getting him assassinated at the latter end of *February* in the year following.

Under *Diocletian* and the *Constantine* family.

A. D. 284.

X. THERE is a profound silence in all the *Roman* historians with regard to the affairs of *Britain*, from this time to the reign of *Diocletian*, who was proclaimed Emperor at *Chalcedon* on *September* 17, *A. D.* 284. This is probably owing to the quiet, which the province enjoyed, not being invaded by the northern *Britains*; peaceable times, when things continue long in the same state, affording little matter for historians. Hence no event is mentioned, by any writer, in relation to the people of *Britain*; though notice is taken occasionally of some short usurpations and defections of the legions here, which were immediately suppressed. But in the time of *Diocletian*, there happened one, which was very considerable, and had a longer continuance than the others. *Carausius*³, a man of mean parentage, by birth a *Menapian*, or (as *Eumenius* says) a *Batavian*⁴, being an experienced officer in sea affairs, and having distinguished himself by his bravery and conduct by land, as well as by sea, on many occasions, was made commander of the *Roman* navy, usually stationed at *Boulogne*, to guard the seas against the *Franks* and *Saxons*, two *German* nations, that infested them, and often ravaged the coasts of *Picardie*, *Normandie*, and *Bretagne*. Whilst he was in possession of this charge, he took abundance of prizes, and made great numbers of the pirates prisoners: but never gave any account of what he had taken; neither restoring to the *Roman* subjects the goods of which they had been plundered, and were the right owners, nor re-

¹ See Sir Robert Sibbald's *History of Fife*.

² *Dio*. l. lxxvii.

³ *Aurel. Vict. Eutrop.*

⁴ *Paneg.* ix. mitting

mitting the value thereof into the Emperor's exchequer. It was observable too in his management of the war, that he rarely attacked those pirates till after they had plundered the coasts; though he still took care, in order to enrich himself, to intercept them in their return home, laden with booty: and this affording grounds, not only to arraign his conduct, but to suspect him likewise of some more dangerous designs, for which he was preparing by the wealth he amassed, *Maximian* *A. D. 284.* *Herculius* gave orders to have him seized and executed. *Carausius* having notice of the danger he was in, made himself master of *Boulogne*: and having drawn over the fleet to his party, passed into *Britain*; where he was received by the Legion, and the auxiliary forces there quartered, and was proclaimed Emperor. This passage in *Eumenius* ¹, shewing there was at that time but *one* Legion in this island, is a strong presumption in favour of the quiet, which reigned here from the death of *Severus*, to the reign of *Diocletian*; since, though the rest of the Legions were drawn off for service into other parts of the empire, continually infested, during that interval, by civil wars, and over-run by infinite multitudes of barbarians, one alone was sufficient for the security of *Britain*: and this Legion's acknowledging of *Carausius*, made him at once master of all that part of the island which belonged to the empire, or depended on it; as far north as the wall of *Antoninus*, which (*Nennius* says) he repaired, and added seven new castles to the fortifications.

If we may judge by the event, it is not unlikely, that *Carausius* had always held a secret intelligence with the *Franks* and *Saxons*; and had been taking measures for that usurpation, which *Maximian's* jealousy hastened. At least as soon as he was possessed of *Britain*, he made an open alliance with those nations: and took into his pay a number of their forces, which he trained and instructed both in land and sea service. He expected to be soon attacked by all the power of the empire: and made preparations accordingly, encreasing his navy with a greater force of shipping, and putting *Boulogne* in a condition of defence. *Maximian* proposed to besiege it both by sea and land: but the fleet which he had caused to be built in the rivers of *Gaule*, being beaten by the usurper, he laid aside that design; and, marching against the *Franks*, forced them to a submission. He was still unable to cope with *Carausius* at sea: and therefore, yielding to necessity, he thought it prudent to make peace with him, and consent to his imperial title, rather than expose the maritime parts of *Gaule* to his depredations, and to those of his allies. This is confirmed by some medals of *Diocletian*, *Maximian*, and *Carausius* ²; having on the reverse PROVIDENTIA AVGGG, and PAX AVGGG; and shewing there were three Emperors at that time, at peace with one another.

A PEACE made out of meer necessity, against the will of a contracting party, seldom lasts longer than whilst that necessity subsists: and *Maximian* prepared to break a convention which appeared dishonourable, as soon as the affairs of the empire allowed him to do it with safety. One disturbance or other still put off the execution of his design, till after the troubles in *Egypt*, and the *Parthian* and *African* wars, had obliged *Diocletian*, in order to provide against dangers from so many quarters, to give the dignity of *Cæsar* to *Constantius Chlorus* and *Maximian Galerius* on *March* 1, *A. D.* 292, at *Nicomedia* in *Bitynia*. For the better securing of a perfect harmony between them and the Emperors, they were forced to part with their former wives; and to marry, the first, *Theodora* daughter of *Maximian Hercu-* *A. D. 292.* *lius*; the latter, *Valeria* daughter to *Diocletian*. In consequence hereof, the provinces of the empire were divided into four shares, each of them being assigned one; and that of *Constantius* comprehending all the western countries on this side the *Alpes*, with *Mauritania Tingitana*, which was always an appendage to the pro-

¹ *Paneg.* viii.² *Antiq. Rutupin.* p. 65.

A. D. 292. vince of *Spaine*. The news of *Constantius's* being declared *Cæsar*, had hardly reached *Boulogne*; when he appeared with an army before the place: and having stopped up the entrance of the port by a bank of stone, to prevent any succours being brought from *Britain*, and to hinder *Carausius's* troops from flying thither, obliged them in a short time to surrender. Not having a fleet strong enough to invade this island, he gave orders for building more ships: and marched against the *Franks*, the *Cauci*, and the *Frijians*; who inhabited *Hollande*, and the neighbouring countries on the *Rhine* and *Schelde*, and were always ready to assist *Carausius*. These he defeated and subdued; and then, taking away their arms, transplanted them into other countries, too remote to allow them to give any obstruction to his enterprize upon *Britain*. *Carausius*, in the mean time, was, after an usurpation of seven years, murdered in *A. D. 293*, by *Allectus*, one of his officers; who immediately set up himself for Emperor, and continued for three years to enjoy the title.

A. D. 296. IT was in *A. D. 296*, that *Constantius*, after three years preparations, having fitted out a mighty navy, resolved to attempt the recovery of *Britain*¹. He divided his fleet into several squadrons, one lying at the mouth of the *Seine*, and others at *Boulogne*; in order either to keep the enemy ignorant of the place where he designed to land, or to make a descent in several places. These measures succeeded to his wish; for *Asclepiodotus*, his *præfectus prætorii*, an excellent officer, bred up under the Emperor *Probus*, passing with the squadron under his command by favour of a fog, under the *Isle of Wight*, where the fleet of *Allectus* lay to intercept his passage, landed on the neighbouring coast without any opposition; and immediately burnt his ships, that the usurper's fleet might not seize them, and his own soldiers might have no hopes of safety, but in being victorious. *Constantius* made his descent in the very quarter where *Allectus* expected, and had drawn down his army to oppose him; but either not caring to fight *Constantius* in person, or surprized at the news of *Asclepiodotus's* being landed, and perhaps in hopes of defeating him, before he could join the main army, he had quitted that post, and marched against the præfect in such haste, that leaving the *Roman* troops behind, he took with him only his principal officers and foreign auxiliaries. *Constantius* was received with great joy, by the *Britains*, at his landing; and followed *Allectus* in order to be present at the battle: but he could not come up, till after *Allectus* was slain, and his army defeated. The auxiliaries, composed chiefly of *Franks*, that escaped from the battle, retired to *London* in order to get back as well as they could to *Germany*: but determined first to plunder the town, and enrich themselves by the spoils of the inhabitants. They were prevented in the moment of their execution of this design, by a body of *Constantius's* troops, who had landed in the neighbourhood, out of some ships, which had been separated from the rest of the fleet, in the fog that hindered *Allectus's* navy from seeing that of *Asclepiodotus*; and had by mistake come up the *Thames*. These marching to *London*, surprized the *Franks* as they were dispersed, and busy in plundering: and made a terrible slaughter of them in all parts of the city, which was thus unexpectedly saved from destruction. *Constantius* had now a fair field for the exercise of his clemency and justice; he gave a general pardon to all that had been concerned in the revolt; he restored to the proprietors all that had been taken from them, even by his own soldiers; so that the people considered him not as an invader, but a deliverer. Thus was the sea opened, commerce restored, *Gaule* secured from descents, and *Britain* recovered, after having been for ten years dismembered from the empire.

FLAVIUS CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS, was the son of *Eutropius* (one of the most considerable noblemen of *Dardania*, a country in the higher *Mæsia*, and by *Aurelian*

¹ *Paneg. viii.*

made a part of *Dacia*) and of *Claudia* daughter of *Crissus*, the youngest brother of the Emperor *Claudius* II. from whom it is thought he took the *Prænomen* of *Flavius*. The ancient city of *Autun* in *Burgundy* having been ruined for its affection to that Emperor, *Constantius* laid out vast sums in rebuilding it; defraying the charge of the public edifices, and contributing to that of private houses: for the executing of which in the best manner, and with all the splendour that he proposed, *Eumenius*¹ observes, that he sent workmen from *Britain*, which could scarce be thought to abound in those days with skilful architects. He was infinitely beloved in this island, where every body was happy under his government: and the same author tells us, that he was obeyed by the uncivilized nations in the most northern parts of it, who never offered to disturb the peace of the province, till the last year of his life, when by a victory he forced them to a submission. Upon the resignation of *Diocletian* and *Maximian Herculus* on May 1, 305, *Constantius* was declared Emperor jointly with *Galerius*, and dying at *York* on July 25, *A. D.* 306; appointed *Constantine*, his son by *Helena*, to succeed him in the empire; ^{*A. D.* 306:} who was immediately proclaimed by the army.

HELENA was the daughter of *Coil*, king of the *Cumbrian Britains*, inhabiting between the walls of *Hadrian* and *Antoninus*, but dependant on the empire, like other kings on the frontiers of it in the east, and elsewhere; and treated as an ally or confederate: but such allies not having the privileges of *Roman* citizens, some have taken occasion from thence, to dispute as well the legitimacy of *Constantine*, as the quality of his mother. By the rigour of the *Roman* laws, all persons were deemed *foreigners*, who were not free of the city, and admitted to the *jus Quiritium* & *civitatis*; they were incapacitated to marry³ with citizens, to make wills, &c. in consequence whereof, we have seen that the will of *Prasutagus*, king of the *Iceni*, though an ally of the *Romans*, was looked upon as invalid. For the same reason, *Coil*, and his daughter *Helena*, were reputed foreigners; and as such, her marriage with *Constantius* is said, by some *Roman* writers, to have been *illegal, unequal, unbecoming*, and their married state to be a *contubernium*, rather than a *connubium*. Nor were the *Latins* and *Italians*, before the *Julian* law, in a better condition in this respect than other foreigners; passing ever till then under the same denomination, though *socii* or allies. What the *Romans* called *nuptiæ* and *connubium*, could only be contracted between *Roman* citizens, and not between citizens and foreigners, so as to be attended with all its civil or legal effects: yet these last could contract what they called *matrimonium*; and the grant of the people, or of the Emperor, could confer on any foreigner all the rights and privileges of *Roman* citizens. Hence foreign princesses of royal blood were deemed an unequal match for a *Roman*; that people being so extremely averse to any union of such a nature, that *Titus Vespasian*⁴, the darling of mankind, with all his passion for queen *Berenice*, durst not yet venture to marry her after he was Emperor: No wonder then that *Helena*, whose beauty, piety, prudence, and other virtues recommended her; even more than her birth and quality, should by some of the haughty *Romans* who, slaves as they were to every tyrant put upon them by a standing army, yet fancied themselves to be still lords of the world, be thought an unequal match for *Constantius*: but that the marriage was good, is evident from the care which *Diocletian* and *Maximian* took to make him divorce her, before he intermarried with *Theodora*. When this happened, he had lived with her above twenty years, having married her, when he was very young. It was in one of his glorious campaigns against the *Germans*, when he gained a signal victory over them, in the plains of *Vindon*, that she was delivered of *Constantine* on February 27, *A. D.* 273 or

¹ *Pan.* viii.² *Ammian Marcel. Excerpt.*³ *Ulpian. Fragm.* v. 4.⁴ *Sueton. in Tit.* c. 7.

A. D. 306. 274, ¹ at *Naiffe* in *Dardania*, the residence of *Eutropius*, her husband's father, and the place where her son had for several years his education.

CONSTANTINE, for his great actions surnamed the *Great*, was truly so in the sentiments of his mind, and in all his conduct; whether in peace or war, at the head of an army, or in the administration of government. He had an enterprising genius, that put him upon great undertakings, and a capacity that enabled him to execute whatever he undertook; great natural parts, an habitual prudence, and an extraordinary address, that never suffered him to be surprized. He was good natured to a fault; polite, affable, liberal, and obliging to excess; so that none ever asked his assistance in vain, or went away from his presence (to which every body had access) without some favour or other. He sate in judgment often, and administered justice with great impartiality; but to soften the rigour of a sentence, which right and law exacted from him indispensably, he would make the sufferers a present in money or land, and thus supply by his generosity what he had taken from them by his strict justice. He had given so many extraordinary proofs of his valour, that no body ever called in question that part of his character; and the constant series of success, which attended him in all his warlike expeditions, was plainly owing to his military skill; unless perhaps in the engagement with *Maxentius*; the disaffection of whose troops, double in number to those of *Constantine*, and their aversion to the cause of a cruel tyrant, in whose pay they were unwillingly engaged, made them forget their usual courage, and probably contributed to the loss of the battle. The use which *Constantine* made of that victory, was every way worthy of his magnanimity; he pardoned all that had fought against him, or declared themselves his enemies; giving them back their estates and dignities which they had forfeited; recalling all that had been sent into exile by *Maxentius*; restoring the senate to its ancient honours and authority; and filling it with the most illustrious persons; providing for the order, peace, and conveniencies of *Rome* by the wisest regulations; and redressing all the disorders and corruptions, which had crept into the police of that city. It was on these accounts, that in the inscriptions dedicated to his honour, he is styled, *Urbis liberator, quietis fundator, reipublicæ instaurator, publicæ libertatis auctor, restitutor urbis Romæ atque orbis*. His great talents, his fortitude, and his clemency are acknowledged even by the heathens, though they blame him for being too easy in pardoning, and for too much indulgence to offenders: but above all, his laws are an undeniable and an eternal testimony of the lenity and equity of his government; laws full of humanity, softening the rigour of ancient ordinances; encouraging virtue, and animating a spirit of liberty. Such were his provisions for relief of children, whom their parents could not maintain, allowing them corn out of his granaries, and money out of the exchequer; in favour of debtors oppressed, and cruelly treated by their creditors, particularly of such as stood indebted to his own treasury; in behalf of criminals and prisoners, for bringing them to speedy trials; for making their confinement easy and unexpensive, and their prisons airy, comfortable, and convenient; for preventing the arbitrary and oppressive methods taken by gaolers to extort money from their prisoners; against informers and delators, by making death the punishment of their infamous practice, and forbidding any credit to be given to their testimony; for abolishing tortures, whippings, and other unwarrantable severities towards prisoners, invented by the craft and insolence of judges; for making officers do their duty, without either affected delays, or bribes and perquisites for dispatch; for preventing all kinds of extortion, and remedying all manner of corruption, &c. Such laws as these, which appear in the *Theodosian*

code, are a finer monument of a prince's merit, than the best statuary can erect to his memory : and leave us no room to doubt of what historians say, in relation to the order, plenty, and quiet that reigned throughout his dominions, the happiness that his subjects enjoyed under him, and his being beloved or dreaded by all his neighbours.

BRITAIN undoubtedly had its share in the happiness of *Constantine's* government : and seems to have enjoyed an uninterrupted tranquillity all his reign, after the first year of it, in which the *Caledonians* and other *Picts* (as *Ammianus Marcellinus* terms those different clans of people, which *Dio* comprehends under the general name of *Maiatae*, and who all painted as well as the *Caledonians*) having been routed just before his father's death, were glad to sue for peace, and submit to the conditions imposed by the victor. Their submission was very early ; for though *Constantius* died but on *July* the 25th, *Constantine* had time before the end of the year to pass into *Gaule*, to march against the *Franks* (who had taken up arms on advice of the *Caledonian* excursions, which they imagined would detain the emperor in *Britain*) and to vanquish them in battle ; taking *Ascaricus* and *Regasus*, two of their kings, prisoners (in memory whereof he instituted the *Ludi Francici*) and afterwards to cross the *Rhine*, and waste the country of the *Brueteri*. The peace appears likewise to have been well observed by the *Caledonians* ; the emperor having had no occasion to visit this island again for the quieting of any disturbances, or the repressing of any incursions ; though for his expedition against *Maxentius* he had drawn thence a considerable body of forces, which do not seem to have been ever replaced. The church here enjoyed the same quiet as the state, being intirely settled, and in a flourishing condition ; as we may judge by the regular deputation of her bishops to General Councils¹, and to that of the West held at *Arles* *A. D.* 314, about the affair of the *Donatists*. The names of *Eborius*, *Restitutus* and *Adelfus*, Bishops of *York*, *London* and *Lincoln* (for this last place is the *Colonia Lindum* mentioned in *Ravennas*) who assisted at it, are preserved in the acts of that council.

BRITAIN had been, till the time of *Diocletian*, governed by *Proprætors* and imperial Legates : but upon the general alteration made in the government of the Empire, by appointing a master of the soldiery, to command the horse, and another for the foot, with power to order every thing relating to the army, and four præfects, *viz.* of the *East*, *Illyricum*, *Italy* and *Gaule*, to govern the provinces ; this island being allotted to the last of those præfects, was governed, under him, by a Vicar general, and other officers mentioned in the *Notitia Imperii*. This alteration is by *Zosimus* ascribed to *Constantine*, and *Aurelius Victor* says he established it after *A. D.* 326 ; but we find the title much earlier : and as these præfects exercised within their several districts that jurisdiction, which formerly had been vested in the *Præfectus Prætorii* alone, it is reasonable to think, it must have been introduced at least, from the time that *Diocletian* divided the Empire between two *Augusti* and two *Cæsars*, each of which had, in the provinces he governed, his distinct army and *Præfectus Prætorii*.

CONSTANTINE the Great dying on *Whitsunday*, *May* 22, *A. D.* 337, Britain fell to the share of his eldest son of the same name : but he being slain in an action near *Aquileia* about *April* *A. D.* 340, his brother *Constans* got possession of this island as well as of the rest of the Western Empire. It was rather to visit this country, than on account of any disturbance in it (for *Libanius*² says there was no war there to render his journey necessary) that *Constans*, after his treaty with the *Franks*, came

¹ *Zosimus*, l. ii.² *S. Hilar. l. de Synodis.*³ *Orat. iii.*

A. D. 337. over into *Britain* in the winter, at the latter end of *A. D. 342*, or beginning of *A. D. 343*; it appearing from a law of his in the *Theodosian Code*¹, that he was at *Bologne*, on *January 25*, of the last named year; though whether on his way hither, or on his return, is uncertain. He had not the great qualities of his father: but passing his time in hunting and pleasures, left all the care of government to his ministers, who abused his confidence, and laid unsupportable burdens upon the people. Having thus by their own iniquities rendered their master odious, they were encouraged to conspire against him: and at a drunken entertainment, to which all the officers of the court were invited, they set up *Magnentius* (a *German* by descent, but born among the *Læti*, who had been transplanted into *Gaule*) for Emperor. He was so proclaimed on *January 18*, *A. D. 350*. at *Autun* in *Burgundy*: and shutting the gates of the place, to prevent any intelligence being sent of their proceedings, they detached a party to seize *Constans*; who, flying towards *Spain*, was overtaken, and slain at *Elna* in *Roussillon*. *Magnentius* thereupon became master of all the countries on this side the *Alpes*, and soon after of *Italy*; tyrannizing in such a manner, as made every body wish *Constans* alive again with all his faults: but elated with his success, and marching with a mighty army against *Constantius*, the only surviving son of the great *Constantine*, and Emperor of the East, he was routed at *Mursa* in *Pannonia*. The usurper, as timorous and abject in adversity, as he had been insolent and blustering in prosperity, fled into *Gaule*: but being pursued thither, and routed again in *Dauphiné*, killed himself and his nearest relations in a fit of rage and despair, about the middle of *August*, *A. D. 354*. *Constantius* remained master of the whole *Roman Empire*: but not content with the ready submission of all the western provinces, particularly of *Britain*, where the army always followed the fate of *Gaule*, he sent over one ² *Paulus* a *Spaniard* by birth, a notary by profession, and a common informer by practice, to make inquiry into the conduct of the soldiers, who had either favoured *Magnentius*, or in their inability to resist him, had submitted to that usurper. This infamous fellow proceeded so outrageously in his prosecution of all sorts of persons, by imprisonment, tortures, exile, death and confiscation of estates, without distinguishing the innocent from the guilty, that *Martin* the worthy deputy of the province, out of compassion to the miseries of the sufferers, and indignation at *Paul's* clandestine endeavours to involve him in the same guilt, drew his sword to dispatch the author of these horrible oppressions (who was afterwards burnt alive by *Julian*) and missing his blow, stabbed himself.

BUT neither this cruel treatment, nor yet any civil broils or disturbances in other parts of the Empire, had influence enough to tempt any invasion of the province, or raise any commotion in *Britain*; where every thing continued quiet to the great convenience of the *Romans*: who having built six or eight hundred vessels in this country, transported thence in *A. D. 359*, quantities of corn sufficient to supply their armies and garrisons in *Germany*. *Gaule*, wasted by continual wars, was unable to furnish the necessary provisions for such a number of forces: and the *Salii* with other *Franks*, who lived on the mouths of the *Rhine* and *Meuse*, being masters of those rivers³ to which corn used formerly to be brought from hence, the *Roman* soldiers had been put to great distress, and were ready to mutiny, when the reduction of those nations afforded them means of a seasonable supply. It is very probable, that the *Britten-buis* or *Arx Britannica*, the ruins of which are still seen at low-water off the coast of *Hollande*, near the mouth of the old channel of the *Rhine*, was built to serve as a magazine for the *British* corn upon that occasion. There were however at the latter end of this year, or in the

¹ *Ib.* tom. i. p. 44. ² *Ammian. Marcel.* l. xiv. c. 5. l. xv. c. 6. ³ *Liban. Orat.* xii. *Zosim.* l. iii.

very beginning of *A. D.* 360, some depredations made in the provinces of *Britain* *A. D. 360.* by the *Scots* and *Picts*, in breach of the tranquillity mutually stipulated, and long observed: but as these people proposed only to get some plunder in the country, and then return home with their booty, they were of little consequence, and of no continuance. *Julian* the apostate had at this time the government of *Gaule*, with the title of *Cæsar*: and was passing the winter at *Paris*, when advice came of these incursions. ¹ Not caring to leave that province without a governour, or not thinking the occasion important enough to deserve his going over in person to *Britain*, he sent thither *Lupicinus*, master of the armoury, an haughty man, but of a warlike genius, and an experienced officer, with a body of light armed cohorts, composed of the *Heruli*, *Batavi*, and *Mæsians*. He was in all probability glad of an opportunity to send away a man, whom he considered as a spy planted upon him by *Constantius*; whilst he was taking measures to get the army declare him Emperor. For *Lupicinus* parting at the latter end of the winter season, *Julian* soon after (either towards the end of *March*, or in the month of *April*) assumed the purple: and dispatched an officer immediately to *Boulogne* to stop the port, and prevent any intelligence being sent of that affair to *Lupicinus*. This officer probably found the enemy retired, or else they quitted the country upon his arrival; for having taken care to secure the *British* provinces against the like depredations, he returned to *Gaule* before he heard any thing of *Julian's* usurpation, and was seized at *Boulogne*. *Constantius* was at this time in the East, engaged in a war with *Persia*, which he could not quit, till the enemy retired into their own country: and then leaving the ordinary garrisons on the frontiers, he marched with his army towards *Thrace*; but died on *November 3, A. D. 361*, at *Mopsucrene* in *Cilicia*; not without suspicion of being poisoned by the procurement of *Julian*, who fully expecting his death, regulated his own motions accordingly.

THE character of these two princes was very different; but alike fatal to themselves, and mischievous to the empire. *Constantius* was weak, careless, indolent, and governed entirely by his ministers and favourites; who inspired into him what sentiments they pleased, and exercised in reality all that authority of which he had only the name. *Julian* had parts and learning, was active, enterprising, vain, and wilful; and in affecting to carry war into the heart of *Persia*, where he could not be supplied with provisions, lost his life on *June 26, A. D. 363*, and left his army exposed through want to inevitable destruction. *Jovian*, who succeeded him, was forced to purchase their return by giving up the provinces and strong cities, which served for a barrier to the empire on the side of *Persia*: and in his way to *Constantinople*, died in the night of *February 16, A. D. 364*, at *Dadaßene* in *Bithynia*. *A. D. 364.* He was succeeded by *Valentinian*: in whose time there opened a new scene in *Britain*, so different from any thing that had appeared before, and so continually productive of troubles for a long series of years, that it is necessary to premise something in relation as well to the parties concerned therein, as to the occasion of those disturbances.

XI. It hath been already observed, that the inhabitants of the most northern parts of this island were originally of the race of the *Brigantes* or *Old Britains*: which is sufficiently confirmed by the observations, which Mr. *Edward Lhuyd*², and other learned men, well skilled in the Celtic tongue, have made upon the several dialects of that language. The *Roman* writers, from the time of *Tacitus* to *Dio*, always call those nations in general by the name of *Britains*, however they

¹ *Ammian. Marcel. l. xx. c. 1, 9. Ep. Julian. ad Athen.*

² See *Archæolog. Brit. Præf. Baxter's Gloss. Brit. v. CALLEDONES.*

A. D. 364. may at any time distinguish any particular nation by a peculiar denomination, drawn from some circumstance of their particular situation: for though *Tacitus*¹ mentions the *Caledonians*, or inhabitants of the *Caledonian forest*, he still says they were *Britains*, and *Martial* his contemporary, joining the two names together, calls them *Caledonii Britanni*. *Dio* distinguisheth the same people (who, he says, went by many different denominations according to their different tribes or clans) by two general names, derived from the different nature of their respective countries, which they inhabited; that of the *Caledonii*² being appropriated to those that dwelt in the mountains, which were all covered with thick woods, the whole track of country being called *Caledonia Sylva*: and that of *Maiatae*, to those who inhabited the plains or low country: a distinction, of which there is still some intimation left in that, which is in use at this day, of *Highlanders* and *Lowlanders*. Both these people painted their bodies, probably of different colours, to distinguish their several clans, by the denomination of the *red*, *black*, *yellow*, or *blew* clan; and to shew to what chieftain they belonged. For in those days (as *Dio* says) they had no king to rule over them in general: but each clan, independent of any other, was governed by its particular chieftain; who had as absolute an authority, or, to use the expression of a learned *Britain*³, “as much commanding right over his vassals, as any *German* prince hath over his lawful subjects.”

THIS custom of painting seems to have been originally the practice of all the *Thracian* colonies: and the *Agathyrsis*, *Geloni*, *Daci*, and *Sarmatae*, retained it long after it was generally disused in this island. As it seems to have arisen from the want of a proper cloathing, and might, when people went naked, and lived dispersed, serve to harden their skins and bodies against the inclemency of the weather, it was probably, in early times, as generally used among the barbarous nations of *Europe* and *Asia*, as it hath been found to be among the *Indians* in *America*; but was left off, in proportion as those nations grew civilized, and cloaths came into fashion. The *Caledonii* and *Maiatae* continued to use it in the time we are now speaking of, when all the other *Britains*, adopting the customs of the *Romans*, and polished by commerce with the rest of the world, had left it off; and had even contracted an aversion to it, since their embracing of *Christianity*. Hence, not caring to be confounded with them in the common name of *Britains*, they were fond of branding them with that of *Picts*, or *painted people*, as those nations are called by *Eumenius* and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, the first authors who speak of them under that denomination.

THESE *Picts* are again divided by *Ammianus*, on account of their situation, into two sorts. The *Deucaledonians*⁴ (for so the word should be wrote, agreeable to *Ptolemy*, who gives the name of *Deucaledonian* to the western ocean, which washeth one side of their country) and the *Victuriones*; the name of the one, expressing the *southern*; and of the other, their *northern* position in respect of one another. This distinction seems to have been kept up for many ages afterwards, at least till the time of *Bede*, and to have been in a manner pointed out by nature,

¹ *Tacit. vit. Agric. n. 10, 11, &c.*

² *Caledoni*, from the British *Kelydnon*, or *Colydhen*, i. e. *Silva*, so their woods were called *Coit-kelydhen*; *Coil*, i. e. *Cilva*. *Maiatae*, from the Celtic word *Meath*, signifying a *plow*, or *Amacib*, *arator*, a *ploughman*.

³ *Alona Antiq. p. 45.*

⁴ *Deu* or *Dheu* in British, the *right-hand*; so *Deucaledonians*, are the *Caledonians* on the *right-hand*, or on the *south*; for the *Britains* worshipping with their faces towards the *east*, called the *south* side of *Britain*, the *right-hand* side, or *pars dextralis*, and the *north* was their *left* side. So

Victuriones from *Clith*, the British word for the *left*; and *Urion*, the old plural for *Uyr*, the modern Celtic for *Viri*, whence the *Romans* borrowed their terms, *Decuriones* and *Centuriones*. See *Baxter's Gloss. v. DEUCALEDONES and VICTURIONES. Usher's Antiq. Brit. c. xv. p. 306.* But Sir Robert Sibbald, in his *History of Fife*, p. 2, derives the last of these names from *Veach*, *painted*, and *Dow*, *water*; so that *Victuriones* denotes a *painted man*, *time people*, and they seem, by their living near the eastern sea, to be distinguished from the *Caledonians*, who lived upon the mountains.

this people being then divided into the northern and southern *Picts*, and separated from each other by a long ridge of mountains.

A. D. 354.

THESE were some of the people that infested the *Roman* provinces in *Britain*: but their view was rather to plunder than fix a settlement; and in the independent condition of their *clans*, they were not fitted to make a conquest. This was an advantage reserved to some of their more enterprising chieftains; who having the supreme command in war, and opportunities of acquiring glory, as well as of extending their territories, made use of both to form a royalty to themselves: and being at once superior in power, in reputation, and in a title, often given in the first transports of a great success, easily brought them by degrees into dependance and vassalage. Thus is it, that all the kingdoms of *Europe* were formed out of the ruins of the *Roman* empire; continual wars making a standing General necessary, and each conqueror enjoying his acquired or accumulated territories in the same manner as he did his particular patrimony, and with the same authority as he had over the *clan*, of which he was the natural head in the way of a lineal succession; according to that well known maxim, which hath always been received in *France*, and other countries of *Europe*, and in a great measure also in this: “That what-
“ ever accedes, and is united to the king’s *domaine*, adopts its nature; and (what-
“ ever it was before) becomes from thence subject to the same regulations and
“ modes of descent.”

THE *Picts* had learned, from the example of *Carausius*, the use that might be made of alliances with foreign nations that were enemies to the *Romans*; who were hindered from attacking him for several years, by the diversion which the *Franks* and *Saxons* had made on the borders of *Gallia Belgica*, at the same time that they furnished him with a body of auxiliaries to support his usurpation. The *Franks* had now lost the country, which they then possessed about the mouths of the *Rhine* and *Meuse*, and the territories they had left were all within land: but the *Saxons* lying upon the *German* ocean, from *Friesland* to the mouth of the *Elbe*, were very conveniently seated to give assistance to the *Picts*: and whilst these made incursions into the northern parts, the others ravaged all the eastern coasts of the *Roman* provinces in *Britain*.

XII. THE *Romans* had still a more dangerous enemy than these, in the *Scots* Of the *Scots*. that were settled in *Ireland*: where they could not easily be attacked themselves, at least in the circumstances of the empire at that time; and yet it was almost impracticable to guard against their invasions, since they could land at any time in what quarter of *Britain* they pleased, and commit great depredations, before they could be opposed by a sufficient body of forces. The first clear and express mention, that is made of them in history, is by *Ammianus* on this occasion: for though in some copies of a passage in St. *Jerome*, seeming to quote *Porphyry*, who wrote in *Diocletian’s* time, he takes a slight notice of *Britain*, of *Scottish* gentes, and other barbarous nations upon the ocean; yet in other copies, instead of *Scottish*, it is read *Scythian*. There is indeed no great difference in the thing, since *Scoticus*, *Scotus*, and *Scotia*, are as naturally formed from *Scytia*, *Scythæ*, *Scyticus*, as *Goticus*, *Gotus*, *Ostrogotus*, &c. are from *Geta* and *Geticus*. The ancient writers likewise generally looked upon the *Celtæ* as a *Scythian* nation, calling them *Celto-Scythæ*, and using these words so promiscuously, that the cape in the furthest north-east extremity of the *European Scythia*, at the mouth of the *Oby*, was styled by them the *Celtic promontory*. Dr. *Skinner*¹ derives the name from the *Teutonic* word *Schieten*, to shoot, whence *Schutz*, an *archer*, as the *Scythians* so generally were (using their

¹ See *Skinner’s Etymol. v. SCYTHÆ. Camden’s Brit. about the Scots.*

A. D. 364. bow in hunting, by which they chiefly subsisted) that the ancients observing the use of bows in any nation, concluded them of course to be *Scythians*. There were other customs of the most savage of the *Scythian* nations, such as drinking blood, and eating man's flesh, practised by the *Scots*, so low as *St. Jerom's* time¹; who was himself a witness of the practice, which undoubtedly continued till *Ireland* was converted to the *Christian* religion. Thus *Gildas* calls them *Scythæ*, and gives the name of the *Scythian Vale* to the sea they crossed over from *Ireland* to *Britain*. *Nennius* does the same; and the *Irish* writers themselves call them *Kin-scuit*, i. e. the *Scottish nation*². King *Alfred*, in his translation of *Orosius*, wherever he finds the word *Scots*, renders it *Scytten*; the *English* on the borders of *Scotland* (as *Camden* says) call them *Scyttes* and *Scetts*: the *Cambro-Britains* call both *Scots* and *Scythians* by the name of *Y-scot*, as the *Dutch* and *Germans* do by that of *Scutten*.

NOR is it any objection to this derivation of their name, that the *Scots* came from *Spain* directly to *Ireland*; for the *Cantabrians* not only resembled the *Scythians* (as *Strabo* says) in their manners and barbarity, and had in their country a promontory called *Promontorium Scythicum*: but the *Concani*, or *Cancani*, a considerable nation of the *Cantabrians*, who drank blood like the *Irish Scots*, are by *Silius Italicus*, who wrote in *Domitian's* time, said to be descended of the *Massagetæ*; and a town of the *Lucensii*, called *Sufana*, is said to be built by the *Sarmatæ*, both *Scythian* nations. It was perhaps some colonies of these, which coming into *Ireland*, and settling near one another there, as they had done in *Spain*, retained in *Ptolemy's* time the names of *Gangani* and *Luceni*, both manifestly pointing out their names. In *Kerry*, where the latter of these people settled, there is a tract of country called, at this day, the *Barony*, or *Hundred of Lyxnaw*, as in *Desmond*, there is that of *Iveragh*, probably from the *Iberi* or *Iberni*, who there fixed their habitation. *Conacia*, now called *Connaght*, containing a fourth part of *Ireland*, may possibly derive its name from the *Comiaci*, a warlike nation of the *Cantabri*, of whom, when subdued, *Strabo* tells us, the *Romans* made great use in their armies, but who were so furiously averse to servitude, that to prevent it, women would murder their children; and rather than endure it, when they have chanced to be taken prisoners with their families, boys by their fathers' order, have killed their parents, and all their near relations. *Gallicia*, a province of *Spain*, lying on the sea, adjoining to the old *Cantabria*, but more westward, and inhabited by the *Gallæci*, or *Calliaci* (a general name comprehending several *Celtic* people, whose particular denominations *Strabo* avoided mentioning, as disagreeable by their strange and uncouth sound) might furnish also a great part of this *Scotch* colony: for we find the traces of their name not only in that of the county of *Gallive*, in *English Gallway*, but in that more generally assumed by the whole colony; the *Irish* calling themselves, in their own language, *Gael*³, and (as they pronounce it) *Gaelick*. The language of all these people was originally *Celtic*, though the dialects necessarily varied in some particulars: and the *Cantabrian* words still preserved in the *Earse*, now spoken both in *Ireland*, and the western isles of *Scotland*, with the affinity of customs between those *Spanish* nations and the *Scotch* colony, leaving no room for doubt in respect of the latter's descent, it may be proper to enquire at what time this colony was transplanted from *Spain* into *Ireland*.

ARISTOTLE⁴, not the Preceptor of *Alexander the Great*, but (as *Vossius*⁵ thinks) a younger of that name, speaks of a desert island in the ocean, beyond the pillars of *Hercules*, and several days sail from thence, exceeding large, a good deal

¹ *Jovinian*, l. ii. ² *Irish Preface to Arch. Brit.* ³ *Mr. Innys's Dissert. on the Scots*, tom. ii. p. 544. ⁴ *De mirabil. Auditionibus. Bochart's Phaleg.* p. 716. ⁵ *De Hist. Græc.* p. 514.

mountainous, but a great part of it plain, wonderfully fruitful, and abounding with *navigable* rivers; which had been discovered by the *Carthaginians*, and was found by them so agreeable, that some of them began to settle in it; and others were disposed to follow in such numbers, that apprehending some great inconvenience might thence ensue to the state, they thought fit to recal all that had already fixed an habitation there, and prohibited every body from going thither under pain of death; concealing the situation of the island, and the navigation to it as much as possible, with a view, perhaps, in case of a dissolution of their state, to make it the place of their general settlement. There is no island in the *western ocean*, to which this description can agree, but *Ireland*; no other hath in it any navigable rivers, and the *Carthaginians* could not well help discovering it in the voyages they made to the *Cassiterides*, and to *Britain*. If it were so, and the great *Aristotle*, who flourished about 330 years before the *Christian* æra, be the author of the treatise in which this relation is inserted, it is very likely that *Ireland* was not long planted before his time, at least not till after the *Phœnician* colony was settled at *Gades*¹, and trade was from thence carried on with *Britain*. There are several presumptions that its plantation is not very ancient; such as,² the vast multitude of bogs, with which it was overspread, much more doubtless in ancient times, than the *English* found it in the days of Queen *Elizabeth*; and that several other islands about *Great Britain* remained uninhabited, so low as the time of *Plutarch*³, who lived at *Rome* in the reigns of *Domitian* and *Trajan*. It was first planted very probably by a colony of the *Brigantes* from the coast of *Galloway*, upon whose removal a new set of inhabitants came into that south-west part of *North-Britain*, and as such were called *Noiantæ*. This colony fixed their seats in the eastern parts of *Ireland*; which probably they had not possessed long enough to overstock with inhabitants, before the *Dumnonii*, a *Belgic* colony of *Britains*, came over from *Devonshire*, and settled on the east and south-east coast of that island; the *Brigantes* probably retiring thereupon into the more inland counties of *Catherlogh*, *Kilkenny*, *Tipperary*, and *Offory*, where they were sufficiently accommodated, as well with pastures for their cattle, as with woods for hunting, their chief delight and occupation.

It hath been already observed, that this settlement of the *Belgic Britains* in *Ireland*, could not be above fifty years before *Julius Cæsar's* invasion: and they, as

¹ *Carthage*, according to *Appian*, had subsisted about 700 years, when destroyed by the younger *Scipio Africanus*, and consequently was built about 835 years before *Christ*: but it must have been founded 878 years before that æra, if built by *Dido*, which is the general opinion; her departure from *Tyre* being 300 years after the destruction of *Troy*, and there was a considerable interval of time between the building of *Carthage*, and the foundation of *Gades*. It was a work of some ages for the *Carthaginians*, to free themselves from the tribute they paid to the *Africans*, to subdue the maritime parts of *Lybia* and *Mauritania*, to reduce the isles of *Sardinia*, *Corfica*, and the *Baleares*; all which was done before they attempted to make settlements and conquests in *Spain*. It was from *Gades* that (*Strabo*, l. iii. *ad finem*, says) trade was first set on foot with *Britain*. *Festus Avienus* (*De oramaritima*, § 431.) says, the *Cassiterides* were first found out by *Himilco*, who was sent from *Carthage* to discover what maritime countries lay north of the pillars of *Hercules* in the western ocean, at the same time that *Hanno* was sent to discover those on the south. *Pliny* (*Nat. Hist.* l. v. c. 1.) says, that *Hanno* was a *Carthaginian* General, and wrote in the most flourishing days of that republic;

which circumstance agreeing to the time of *Agathocles* (*Vossius De hist. Græcis*, p. 513.) judges *Hanno* to be the General of that name, who commanded a body of the *Carthaginian* forces, as *Himilco* did another, against the son and Generals of that *Sicilian* tyrant. See *Diod. Sic.* l. xx. p. 795. (764.) But however this be, it is certain the *Cassiterides* were discovered as early as the time of *Herodotus*, who (l. i. n. 115.) speaks of tin being brought from thence: tho' they seem to have been found out but a little before, and were then so little known, that he could not tell whether they were *Spanish* or *British* isles, nor get any information about them, notwithstanding all his enquiries. As that author wrote his history 443 years before *Christ*, and the navigation to *Britain* was just then discovered, *Ireland* could not fail of being found out soon after; though not then inhabited, nor probably for an age or two afterwards, according to what hath been observed before from *Polybius*, in whose time the western coast of *Spain* was little known, and had not been long discovered.

² See Sir *Robert Sibbald's* account of the formation of bogs in his *History of Fife*, and *Philosoph. Transf.* n. 170.

³ *De defectu oraculorum.*

A. D. 364. well as the *Brigantes*, had not so stocked the country with inhabitants in an hundred and fifty years afterwards, when *Tacitus* wrote the life of *Agricola*, but (though the *Romans* were forced to employ several legions against the northern *Britains* beyond the *Fritbs* of *Cluyd* and *Forth*) that wise General still thought all *Ireland* might easily be conquered by a single legion and a few auxiliaries. The *Belgic Britains* were a mercantile people, and had applied themselves so diligently to the business of trade, that *Ireland* was, in that author's time, more frequented by merchants, and its ports better known, than those of *Great Britain* itself. They were, on this account, not at all disposed to commit depredations upon their neighbours, especially on the Empire, where they found a vent for all their commodities: and the *Brigantes*, though more wild and savage, as living dispersed in woods and mountains, were yet so well satisfied with their own manner of life, and the undisturbed enjoyment of their hunting, that no attempt was ever made by either of these people upon the *Roman* territories in *Britain*, till after the *Scots* came to settle in *Ireland*. This people did not come thither, according to the tradition of the country, and the unanimous confession of all the *Irish* writers, till at least two centuries after the *Fir-bolg* and *Fir-dumnon* (the *Belgic* and *Devon Britains*) were there settled; nor are they mentioned by any ancient writer on any occasion, but what was posterior to *A. D.* 350. *Diodorus Siculus*, who lived in the times of *Julius* and *Augustus Cæsar*, and *Strabo*, who wrote in the reign of *Tiberius*, positively say, that *Ireland* was inhabited by the *Britains*; all writers ancients than that year consider it always as an island of the *Britains*, and seem to have had no notion of its being inhabited by any other people. It is not to be imagined, that the *Scots* or *Gallicians* came all at once from *Spaine*, and in numbers sufficient to people the south-west part of *Munster*, and all *Connaght*, where they made their earliest settlements. But one colony following another, they grew stronger from time to time, till they engrossed all the north, and at last the whole kingdom; where being received at first without any difficulty, as their numbers perhaps were not great enough to raise a jealousy, and the island sufficient to furnish sustenance for them, as well as for the old inhabitants, they, either by multiplying exceedingly, or by receiving fresh recruits from *Spaine*, grew strong enough to expel or reduce the others.

THE first of the colonies that came over from *Spaine*, was probably composed of *Cantabrians*, upon that nation's being subdued by *Agrippa* in the seventh year of *Augustus*, and twenty-one years before *Christ*; it being reasonable to think, that a people, so utterly detesting servitude, should be uneasy under that of the *Romans*; and in despair of recovering their liberty at home, should go abroad to seek it in another country. They could not do this sooner, for want of shipping to transport them and their families; their wicker boats, covered with hides, and called *Corraghs*, not being fit for sea voyages of any length, or to struggle with the waves of the bay of *Biscay*: for though (as *Solinus*¹ says) they served to waft the *Irish* over the channel between them and *Britain*, there were very few days in the year in which they durst venture to pass it in them, and they never eat during all the time of their passage, how long soever it proved. *Strabo*² tells us, that the *Cantabri* and *Galliaci* had no vessels but such *Curroghs*, till after the time of *Decimus Brutus*, or perhaps of *Sertorius*; and then they began to make *Canoes* out of the largest trees, and to build other boats; but they had only a few of these when he wrote, in the time of *Tiberius*; so that their passage to *Ireland* cannot, with any appearance of probability, be fixed earlier, or be supposed to be made at that time in great numbers at any embarkation. And even supposing there were several; yet being made in

¹ C. 24.² L. iii.

so private and clandestine a manner, that history takes notice of none of them, A. D. 364¹
 there is no reason to think them numerous enough to plant a single county of *Ireland*, as it is now cultivated. This however might possibly facilitate their getting footing in the island, till, by their numbers increasing insensibly, they were able to extend their settlements on the western coast, a wild, boggy, uncultivated, and perhaps till then uninhabited tract of country; where, though they had towns in that from whence they came, and their own security required them to live together in a new one, they had but one town, *Nagnata* (now either *Galkway* or *Sligo*) in the days of *Ptolemy*.

THERE was an infinite number of little *tribes*, or *septs*, among the *Cantabrians* and *Gallicians*; who inhabited what *Strabo* calls their several *portions* of country; which, because each had its particular chieftain and judge, whose decisions formed their several laws and customs, were considered as so many *gentes* (or *people*) all independent on one another, though uniting together on occasion of their common defence. These chiefs coming into *Ireland* with their *septs*, took possession of the western coast of that country, and dividing the several quarters of it among themselves, assigned afterwards to their several followers the peculiar shares or *portions* of land, which they were respectively to cultivate and improve. Hence the whole of these shares, belonging to the branches of any *sept*, came to be called *the country of the chieftain*; whose lineal descendants enjoyed the same *right* of renewing, changing, distributing such particular shares at his pleasure, as long as the *Brehon-law*¹ subsisted; which continued to be observed in the greatest part of the provinces in that island, till the reign of *Queen Elizabeth*. From this particular branch of the ordinary power of the chief of a *sept* over the members of his tribe, or the vassals that lived on his demesnes, a power common to all the like heads of *clans*, *toparchs*, *dynastæ*, *reguli*, and *principes* (for by all these names are they mentioned in history) in all the *Celtic*, *German*, *Scythian*, and northern parts of *Europe*, came the title of *Teyrn*², given to such chieftain in *Britain* and *Ireland*: which, though it hath a particular reference to the authority of allotting lands, bears the same sense as *Tyrannus* in *Latin* or *Greek*, in its primary acceptation, and is, in *British* and *Irish*, the same as *king* and *monarch*. Such indeed they were originally as to power within their own territories, and over the several branches of their *septs*: and this is the reason why, in all ancient accounts of *Ireland*, we meet with such a multitude of kings in that country, that there is scarce a county but boasts of a race of royal princes, and scarce a family among the old natives, but claims a descent from some or other of those petty monarchs. But as for a king, ruling over an united number of these *septs*, and a kingdom comprehending many of these counties, agreeable to the modern sense of those words, I see no reason to think that the *Scoti*, who, if of *Cantabrian* and *Gallician* race, had certainly no such constitution in *Spain*, should introduce it in *Ireland*, either immediately upon their settling there, or before some enterprizing successful chief of a *sept* had, either by his own force, or else on being chosen by general consent, in a war which rendered an union necessary, commander in chief of the combined forces, and as such invested with the power of disposing of the conquered lands, gotten an opportunity of extending his own territories, and of encreasing the number of his vassals.

NONE of the prodigious number of *German* and *Scythian* nations had any monarchs of this kind, till they were either attacked by the *Romans*, or else invaded their territories: in which cases a general chieftain became absolutely necessary; in the one for their better defence, in the other for making and distributing their con-

¹ See Sir *John Davy's* of the Causes why *Ireland* was not sooner reduced under the *English* government. ² *Mona Antiq.* p. 26, 28, &c.

A. D. 364. quests. No motive less cogent than that of self-defence, or less powerful than an inordinate desire of plunder, of extending their dominions, and of advancing their military glory, by the conquest of their neighbours (a predominant passion, which they were fond of indulging, whatever became of themselves, and though it paved the way to their own subjection) could have engaged the heads of particular *clans, septs, and tribes*, to have given up any part of their original independency, and to rest contented with a restriction of their natural rights, and a subordinate authority; which however (under the titles of *proceres, principes, primores, pares, nobiles*) they still enjoyed by inherent birth-right, and transmitted to their lineal descendants according to the course of nature, before ever the splendour of courts, and a communication or exercise of the regal power had ennobled the great officers of the state and household, or the more modern way of creation by *diploma* was invented in favour of persons, who had not the same natural right to their dignity. How long the *Scottish* chieftains (if they were really of *Cantabrian* race) retained their independency after they left *Gallicia* (under which name *Asturia* and *Cantabria* too were formerly comprehended) and settled in *Ireland*; or how long they continued in this last country in peace with the old natives, doth not appear in the *Roman* historians; who never so much as mention their name, till they had occasion to speak of their incursions and depredations in *Britain*. The first of these was in *A. D. 360*, but it was soon followed by a series of others; the *Scots* after that time, for an hundred years together, continually infesting the maritime parts of this island. This conduct, so extraordinary with regard to the *Romans*, who had given them no late offence, and to the *Britains*, who had never given any, either to them or their ancestors, and so very different from what the *Irish* had hitherto observed with regard to both, is perfectly unaccountable, unless by supposing, that their time had been hitherto taken up in subduing the old natives (which there are reasons to think¹ was not yet done) or that some late revolution had happened in the circumstances, either of the inhabitants of *Ireland*, or of the *Scotch* colony transplanted from *Gallicia*, as well to increase their strength, as to raise their animosity against the *Romans*.

THERE is a passage in the *Chronicle or History of Spain*, wrote by the learned *Alphonfus*, king of *Castile* and *Leon*, who was chosen Emperor of *Germany*, *A. D. 1257*; which is mentioned by *Camden*², in his *Discourse of the Scots*, and may help to explain this difficulty. It may be proper, however, first to observe, that the Emperor *Valerian*, being in *A. D. 260* taken by *Sapores*, king of *Persia*, the *Goths*, and all other *Scythian* nations, as well as the *Franks* and *Alemanni*, and other people of *Germany*, upon the news of a disgrace, the like of which had never happened to the *Romans*, joined their forces together, and with one consent fell upon the Empire in different places. Their numbers were infinite, and from *Thrace* to the farthest part of the *West*, they left no part of the continent unravaged, over-running *Illyricum*, *Lombardie*, and a great part of *Italy* as far as

¹ The *Brigenfes* or *British* inhabitants of *Ireland* were at this time, and for 200 years after, masters of all the east and south-east maritime parts of that kingdom which lay next *England*, and formed several distinct states in those quarters, as is evident to any one that reads the several lives of *St. Patrick*. Thus in *Vita* iv. c. 33. *Patricius Brigenfium fines relinquens, ultorumque regna appetens ad Slani ostium venit*. And *Vit.* ii. p. 15. *Bregenfium Campus in Cruthenis*. The Gospel was preached to these *British* colonies or nations in *Ireland*, and some of them were converted by *Albæus, Decianus, Ibarus*, and *Kieranus*, before *St. Patrick* came thither to convert the *Scoti*. The seven sons of *Feco-*

magius, a king of the *Britains* in that island, were the persons, that, having killed *Calphurnius* the father of *St. Patrick* in *Armorica*, carried off the Saint and his sister to *Ireland*, where they sold them to *Milchon*, son of *Buani*, prince of *Dalaradia*, *Vit.* vii. c. 16. Frequent mention is made of the country *Bregiorum* and *Bregonum*, the church of *Teigh Bretan*, i. e. *Domus Britannorum*, the town of *Brettan*, near *Downe* in *Ulster*, in the lives above-mentioned: and the situation of this last place shews how far north those settlements of the *Britains* extended in the eastern parts of *Ireland*, long after the time we are speaking of.

² *Introduction to his Britannia*.

Rome itself, all *Gaule* from the *Rhine* to the *Mediterranean*, and even *Spaine*, where *Orosius*¹ says, that the further *Germans*, who were properly *Scythians*, made terrible havock in his country, which was *Hispania Tarraconensis*, for twelve years together (*i. e.* from *A. D.* 261 to 273) burning and destroying all the churches and public buildings, the ruins whereof were still to be seen in his time, a sad monument of the fury of those *Barbarians*. *St. Jerome*², *Aurelius Victor*, and others agree in this fact: and represent them as wasting all before them to the very extremity of *Spaine*, and passing thence over the sea into *Africa*. *Gallienus*, an indolent prince, that made a jest of the calamities of the Empire, took very little care to oppose these united nations: and the various usurpations, to which a military government is always subject, and which were supported by different *corps* of his forces, rendered it almost impracticable to stop their progress. *Posthumus*, *Victorinus*, and *Tetricus*, all passing under the denomination of tyrants, and succeeding one another in *Gaule*, made head against them there with great bravery. *Marcian*, to whom the care of the *Scythian* war was committed in *A. D.* 267, routed the *Goths* in *Illyria*: and the Emperor *Claudius* defeated the *Germans* in the year following near *Verona*, with the slaughter of half their army. The two next years were famous by his victories over the *Goths* in *Greece*, where he destroyed 320,000 of their number, and thereupon assumed the titles of *Germanicus* and *Gothicus*: but death put a stop to his further success. *Aurelian*, a perfect master of the art of war, was well qualified to improve the blow given to these *Scythian* nations by his predecessor; but he was taken up in the East, where *Zenobia* had seized several of the *Roman* provinces, and could not come into *Gaule* till *A. D.* 273, when he received the submission of *Tetricus*, and (as *Victor* says) obliged the *Germans* to retire out of the country; but either not entirely, or they returned soon after with fresh forces. For *Probus*, at his accession to the Empire in *A. D.* 276, found them absolute masters of the whole country; but taking from them seventy great towns which they held in it, defeating them in many battles, with the slaughter of 400,000 of their number, he drove them at last beyond the *Necker* and the *Elbe*, meriting thereby the title of *Victor omnium gentium barbararum*. In one of these actions he took abundance of *Vandals*, with their king *Igillus*, prisoners, and sent them over into *Britain*, to people some uncultivated parts of this island; where they are supposed to have founded *Vandelbury* near *Cambridge*.

It appears plainly, from this short relation, of what prodigious numbers these armies of the united northern nations, which over-ran the empire, consisted; and the *Roman* historians take no notice of any loss sustained by that body of them which ravaged *Spaine*: all that they tell us of its fate being contained in a speech of *Saturninus*³, who afterwards set up for Emperor, and gloried in having recovered *Africa* to the Empire, restored *Gaule*, and pacified *Spaine*. When *Aurelian*, *A. D.* 273, marched against *Tetricus*, he had employed *Saturninus* in the *Narbonensis*; who having recovered it, marched into *Spaine* against the *Barbarians* that had over-run it: and as the terror of that Emperor's name, who in activity and military skill had no equal in that age, was very great, it is likely that they came to an accommodation with *Saturninus*. The term *pacification* implies as much: and the time agrees exactly with the end of the twelve years, which *Orosius* assigns for their ravages in that country. It was usual in such accommodations to give the *Barbarians* some lands within the Empire for their settlement, in order to accustom them to the *Roman* manner of living, and draw from them recruits for the armies. Thus *Probus* gave lands in *Thrace* to an hundred thousand *Bastarnæ*⁴, a *Scythian* nation, and to abundance of the *Gepidæ*, *Juthungi*, *Vandals*, and *Franks*.

¹ L. vii. c. 28.² In *Chronic.*³ *Vopiscus in Saturnino.*⁴ *Zosim. l. i. Vita Probi.*

A. D. 364. Thus *Aurclian*¹ peopled other parts of the empire with the *Carpi*, another nation of *Scythians*, whom he vanquished the same year that *Saturninus* made a pacification with those *Scythians* that were possessed of *Spaine*; so that nothing was more natural for him to grant, or indeed for them to ask, than a settlement in that country; which, it seems, he assigned them in the most proper part of it, for the safety and quiet of the rest, in the province of *Gallicia*. There they remained, and in all appearance quiet enough, till the reign of *Constantine the Great*; who, either on account of their having made an insurrection, or out of apprehension that they might raise a disturbance, which the example of the *Carpi* and *Bastarnæ*, who had rebelled in the time of *Diocletian*, or the ingratitude of the *Sarmatæ*, and incursions of the *Goths* in *A. D. 332*, might give him reason to suspect of all other *Scythians*, resolved to remove them from a part of the Empire, which was absolutely secured from all foreign wars, and could be annoyed from no quarter but theirs; who yet were enabled to do it, purely by being allowed to inhabit within the country. In consequence of this resolution, *Alphenfus* says, *Constantine* obliged them to quit *Spaine*, and transplant themselves elsewhere: but giving them liberty to choose the part of the world to which they would retire, they pitched upon *Ireland*, and were accordingly transported thither². Here was an embarkation made,

¹ *Vopiscus in Aureliano.*

² There is a passage in *Gregory of Tours, Hist. Fran. l. i. c. 32, 33, 34.* which may help to illustrate this point of history: he says, that at the time when all the *Scythian* and *German* nations, upon *Valerian's* being taken, conspired and joined together to invade the *Roman* empire; *Crocus*, king of the *Alemanni* (a warlike people, so called from their being composed of all sorts of men, of various *German* and *Scythian* nations) ravaged all the provinces of *Gaule*, from the *Rhine* to the *Mediterranean*; and that, not content with plunder, the usual view of those barbarians, he made it his business to destroy the finest cities, and to demolish all noble and ancient edifices, wherever he found any such monuments of *Roman* or *Gallie* magnificence; and that he made this unusual havock, not so much to gratify his own taste, as by the advice of his mother, who told him it was the only sure way of passing for a great man in history, of perpetuating his memory, and of making his name immortal. Thus he destroyed the famous heathen temple in *Auvergne*, called *Vasso* (or *Mus*) *Galatæ*, the walls of which were thirty foot thick, and it was paved with marble and mosaick work, covered with lead, and every way the finest structure of its kind in that country. He was himself a pagan; and if he did not destroy any *Christian* churches, it was because there were none at that time erected: but he put *St. Cassius*, *St. Victorinus*, and other martyrs to death, for being *Christians*; and, after doing an infinite deal of mischief, was at last taken in *Arles* and executed. The acts of *St. Privas*, who suffered by his cruelty in the *Germanian*, which are wrote in a natural, simple, and plain manner, without the least deviation into any of those tales, with which writers who affect what is marvellous, interlard their legends, confirm this fact: but give the king of the *Alemanni* the name of *Scorcon*. Had there been a *t*, instead of the *r*, in this word, and the name had been spelt *Scotton*, I should have thought that, as he might be called *Crocus*, from the red or saffron colour, which he affected in his painting, he might likewise from his nation be called *Scotcon*, (i. e. the head or chieftain of the *Scoti*) from *Con*, a chief-

tain, whence *Coning*, a king in *Germany*. It is doubtless very usual for copiers of Manuscripts, to mistake the letters *r* and *t*, in names, where there is no sense in the word to prevent a mistake in orthography: but this is a point not to be cleared without examining the Manuscripts, whence *Surius* published the acts of *St. Privas*, among those of other Saints, whose festivals are kept on *August 21*. *Aimonius de rebus gestis Fran. l. iii. c. 2.* gives us the same relation; and after mentioning his burning of *Mayence* and *Mets*, and putting all the inhabitants to the sword, observes, that *Crocus*, whom he styles king of the *Vandals* (so all that lived like *Nomades*, were often called) was at last, as he was besieging *Arles*, taken by *Marius*. We have the same relation in the *Historia Trevirensis*, published by *D'Achery*, in the 12th Tome of his *Spicilegium*, where this *Crocus* is also called king of the *Vandals*, and is said to have the *Suevi* and *Alemanni* along with him in this expedition; wherein, besides the two cities before-mentioned, he destroyed *Treves*, and abundance of other towns throughout *Gaule*. All circumstances concur to shew, that the time of this expedition was about *A. D. 260*, or *261*. For *Marius*, who routed and took *Crocus*, seems to be the same, that on the death of *Posthumus* was proclaimed Emperor in *Gaule*, who being reproached for having been a blacksmith, and working in iron, bragged of it, and (as *Treb. Pollio*, in *Mario*, tells us) threatened to make the *Alemanni*, the *Germans*, and all their neighbouring nations, feel the weight and keenness of that iron. The *Vandals*, with other *Scythian* nations, and the *Alemanni*, never made another irruption into the heart of *Gaule*, till the time of *Honorius*; and then they made no attack upon *Arles*: nor did they put any *Christians* to death for their religion, they being then *Christians* themselves, having, as well as the *Goths*, been converted a hundred and fifty years before by the *Christian* priests, whom they took captives, in their invasion of the empire, in the time of *Gallienus*. It was in this Emperor's reign (and even before *Posthumus's* usurpation) that *Eutropius*, *Aurelius Victor*, *Ensebius*, and *St. Hierome*, in their *Chronicon*, and others, tell us, the armies of the *Germans* and *Scythians*,
not

not by stealth, nor in small numbers, like those of the *Cantabrians*, after the *Romans* had subdued their country, but by the imperial authority, for the transporting of a prodigious multitude of mingled *Scythian* and *German* nations; who had ravaged, without controul, every quarter of *Spain*, and been masters of the country for twelve years together; and who had, in all probability, exceedingly propagated since that time, and increased so much in their numbers, as to alarm the *Romans*. It was at this time I am persuaded, that the *gentes Scotorum*, the septs of the *Scots*, first came into *Ireland*; it is at least certain, that there is no earlier mention of them in history: and *Ptolemy*, who in his *Geography* speaks of several people whose names either entirely agree, or have a great affinity, with those of the *Cantabrian* nations, takes no notice at all of the *Scoti*, who in a very few years after this transplantation (*viz.* in *A. D.* 360) burst at once out of their obscurity, and make a mighty figure in these northern parts of *Europe*. As they were too numerous to be transported at once, they must have come to *Ireland* at different times, and by various embarkations: and I am apt to think, it was in one of the last of these, when that island had been sufficiently stocked, or perhaps crouded by the numbers brought over before, that the *Piëts* (as *Bede*¹ and others relate) came to *Ireland*, and not finding room there for a settlement, were advised by the inhabitants, who appear to have been their friends, and to have spoke the same language, to pass on to the next islands; where they settled in that of *Man*², and took possession of such other isles lying more northward, as after the *Romans* quitting them on *Agri-cola*'s being recalled, seem to have remained uncultivated³.

THE different names of *Piëts*, *Franks*, *Alemanni*, *Saxons*, *Germans*, *Goths*, and *Scythians*, given to the ravagers of the *Roman* empire in the time of *Gallien*, can

having wasted *Gaul*, passed thence into *Spain*; and having ravaged it from one end to the other, made themselves masters of the country. They particularly mention *Tarrogonia*, the capital at that time of *Spain*, as utterly destroyed by them: and there, as well as through the whole province, *Orosius*, a native of it, says the ruins of the public edifices, and of great cities, were still to be seen in his time, as so many monuments of their former miseries. This particular rage against magnificent structures and fine buildings, shews plainly they were the same *Vandals*, *Alemanni*, and *Scythians*, that were led by *Crocus*, or his successor into *Gaul*, and which, after they made an accommodation with *Aurelian*, were allowed to settle in *Gallicia*; from whence *Constantine* removed them afterwards into *Ireland*. I am the more inclined to think that the name, in the acts of *St. Privas*, should be *Scotton*, and that a great part of his army was composed of *clans*, then termed *Scotish* or *Scythian*, because the other name of their chieftain, *Crocus*, is certainly *Scotish* or *Irish*, and was very common among them, as soon as they were settled in *Ireland*. *Colgan*, in note 3. on the third part of the 7th life of *St. Patrick*, says, that *Corca* is the same as *Croca*, and is a very common name for women in *Ireland*: so is *Corcanus* for a man, and *Corcus*, which last was a name of one of the kings that assisted *St. Patrick* in writing the *Antiquities* of *Ireland*. Another *Corcus*, was a son of *Fergus*, king of *Ulster*; and there was another of the name, king of *Munster*. Several places and countries in *Connaught*, *Munster*, and *Leinster*, were thence denominated, as *Corcha-ochlaid*, *Corca-thenmi*, *Corca-raoid*, *Corca-ghaskish*, *Corca-thri*, *Corca-leigde*, and *Druim-corcain*, famous for a battle there fought. The town of *Corke* is known to every body. So also *Croca*, sister to *St. Belart*; and places called

Crochan, one of them the royal seat of the kings of *Connaught*; the mountain *Croch* or *Crochan*, where *St. Patrick* is said to have fasted forty days and nights; another of the same name in *Conaught*, the highest in *Ireland*, whence it is said, he threw all the venomous beasts in that country into the sea. In a word, this *Crocus*, or some other of his name, but probably this very man, who brought them from their northern abodes, to a more agreeable and better cultivated country, seems to be worshipped by them, as if he was their *Hercules* or *Woden*, their God of war; for in the country of *Mag-slecht*, i. e. *regio adorationis*, stood their famous stone idol, the prince or chief of all the idols of the whole kingdom, attended by twelve lesser idols, all destroyed by *St. Patrick*. This idol, so zealously worshipped by the kings, princes, and nobility of *Ireland*, with the highest honours, and the most solemn sacrifices, was called *Crom-croch*, or *Cruach*: *Crom* denoting bowing, consecration, or the being devoted, and (as the author of *Mona Antiq.* p. 47, 213, & seq. has shewn) being usually joined to every thing which was used for acts of religion, or related to sacrifices, and the rites of worship: as *Crom-lech*, i. e. altars of stone, or consecrated stones, and *Crom-lbyn*, consecrated groves, for sacrificing. These names, all appear in the lives of *St. Patrick*, and other Saints, published by *Colgan*, particularly in *Vita* iv. c. 59. not. 40. *Vit.* v. l. ii. c. 18. *Vit.* vi. c. 170. not. 43. *Vit.* vii. p. 2. c. 18, 24, 31, 37, 44, 52, 63, 69, 96, 114. not. 28, 105, iii. 120. p. 3. c. 32, 56. not. 59, 60. *Appendix of Fragments of ancient Authors*, n. 208. *App.* iii. p. 207, 402. n. 84. *Vit.* *St. Kieran*. tom. i. p. 594. *Vit.* *St. Mochiemochi*, not. 3. p. 596. *Vit.* *St. Ethnei*, *St. Fedelm*, &c.

¹ *Hist. Eccl.* l. i.

² *Orosius*, l. i. c. 2.

³ *Salin. Pol.* c. 24.

A. D. 364.

be no objection to what is here said; since the *Roman* writers agree in telling us, that all the world, in contempt of that prince, conspired together to fall upon the Empire; and that all the *Scythian* nations, as well as the *German*, joined and mingled their forces together upon that occasion, in order to attack those countries, where they expected to find the greatest, and the easiest booty. Different as they were in point of origin, they had all the same restless, turbulent, roving disposition; the same passion for plunder and rapine; the same fury for wasting, burning, and destroying every thing that was useful, beautiful, splendid, and magnificent in a country. The *Romans* hoped to get rid of such troublesome neighbours, by transporting them to an island in the extremest western corner of the known world: but they soon found themselves disappointed; for the *Scots* were scarce warm in their new seats, had scarce arranged their settlements, and provided for their subsistence in *Ireland* (for which less than twenty-five years can hardly be supposed to suffice) before, in A. D. 360, we find them making depredations on the coasts of the *Roman* territories in *Britain*. These they repeated from time to time, though in none more frequently than in the reign of their celebrated monarch *Neil*¹, the first of the name, surnamed *Naei*², or *Naoi-gaillac* (in whose time St. *Patrick* was taken captive) and whose very surname shews, that he was *newly come from Gallicia*; for as the *Irish*, in general, call themselves to this day *Gaillac* or *Gaelick*, so *Naoi-gaillac* signifies a *new Gallician*, or *new Irishman*; one of those *Scythian* people, who (as *Alphonsus* says) were by *Constantine the Great* transported out of *Gallicia* into *Ireland*.

Of the *Attacotti*.

XIII. SUCH were the *Scoti*, who at this time infested the *Roman* provinces in *Britain*: but *Ammianus* mentions still another enemy, that made the like incursions, whom he calls by the new name of *Attacotti*³; though they seem to be no other than the same hardy and warlike people, known formerly by that of *Silures*. They inhabited a vast tract of country, woody or mountainous in every part, extending from the banks of the *Severne* westward to the *Irish* channel, and they had rather submitted to be quiet for a time, than been compleatly reduced by the *Ro-*

¹ *Usher's Antiq. Brit.* c. 16. p. 306.

² *Na* in *Irish* is a sign of the genitive case: *Neadh*, in *Armorican* or *Irish*, signifies *new*, *novus*, so *Naoi-gaillac* may serve to express a person's being either of *Gallicia*, or a *new Gallician*. The *Irish*, indeed, out of a particular fondness for every thing that is fabulous, and appears marvellous, have, from the sound of the word, and by a dextrous management of its orthography, so as to flatter their dreams of conquests, that have no foundation in history and are inconsistent with the accounts given by ancient authors of undoubted credit, made use of it to countenance a ridiculous notion of this *Neil's* being a conqueror of nine kingdoms; *France*, *Saxony* or *England*, *Britain* and *Albany*, having the honour to be of the number, which is made up by five provinces of *Ireland*. This is done by deriving the word from *Nii* or *Naoi*, *nine*, and *Gialla*, a *pledge* or *hostage*, and by assigning one to each kingdom; a derivation, which I suppose invented after *Ireland* had embraced the *Christian* faith; for the ingenious etymologist, who first struck out this sense of the word *Nae-gaillac*, had he lived in the times of paganism, would in all probability have derived it from *Na*, *of*, and *Gealach*, the *moon*, and have given his hero a divine original, by making him a descendent of that deity. At least the inventor shews his ignorance, by giving

the names of *France* and *England* to countries that were not known by those names in the time of *Neil*, whom he would represent as their conqueror. See *Lluyd's Archæol. in Compar. Vocab.* v. NOVEM and NOVUS, and *Irish Dict.* v. NA, NAOI, GEALACH, GIALLA.

³ Mr. *Baxter*, in his *British Glossary*, v. ATTACOTTI, VENTA SILURUM, SILURES, &c. derives the word from *At a Coit*, i. e. *apud Silvas*: so that *Attacotti* is the same as *Silvestres homines*: and this he says is confirmed by the authority of the great *Welsh* poet *Conallua*, in one of his poems; this word being synonymous to those of *Argoet* and *Argoetiys*, by which they are called in the oldest *British* authors; particularly by *Lhemarch Hen*, who flourished within 200 years of this time, and terms them *Gŷyr Argoe*, i. e. *Viri ad Silvas* or *Silvestres*. I agree with Mr. *Baxter* in this explanation of the word *Attacotti*, though I cannot in his derivation of *Silures*, which he supposeth to signify *Viri feri* and *bellicosi*, whereas it seems to me to be more naturally derived from *Coil*, or *Koil*, *Sylva*, and *Ur*, *Vir*, so that *Coilures* bears the same sense as *Attacotti*, and (as *C* and *S* are frequently used^a for one another in the *British* dialects as well as the *Latin*) is very easily, in pronouncing the word, changed into *Silures*.

^a See *Lluyd's Comparative Etymology*, p. 24, 29, 39. *Coil* *U*, and so *C* also into *S*, p. 25.

mans. Some parts indeed of their territories, such as the forest of *Deane*, the shires of *Hereford* and *Monmouth*, and the skirts of *Radnor* and *Montgomery*, had been secured by *Roman* garrisons, and by the colonies settled at *Gloucester*, *Caerleon*, and *Chester*. On the sea coasts, as well on the side of the *Bristol*, as of the *Chester* channel, roads had been made one way as far as *Caer Marthen*; and on the other, as far as *Caernarvan* and *Anglesea*, and two or three stations fixed on each, near the sea: but there was no such thing in all the intermediate country between those two channels; so that all *Wales*, in a manner, was still, and had ever been in the sole possession of the *Silures*, and their clients or allies, who there continued to enjoy their own laws, customs, and chieftains. They were always so disposed to be troublesome, and so hard to be attacked, with any success, in their woods and mountains, that the *Romans* seem never to have attempted the reducing of them entirely: but contented themselves with opposing their incursions, and bridling or terrifying them with two legions, quartered at *Chester* and *Caerleon*; whilst they had none to awe the *Belgic Britains*, and one sufficed to oppose the *Caledonians*. In this situation, the *Silures* stood till the reign of the great *Constantine*, when they seem to be taken into the new province which he erected, and called, from his own name, *Flavia Cæsariensis*.

It may possibly appear not a little surprizing, that a fierce, warlike, untractable people, ranging in their woods and mountains, uncontrolled by any *Roman* magistrate, and uncivilized in every respect, should, at a time when the *Roman* forces here were reduced to a very small number, perhaps to a single legion, and their auxiliaries (as in the time of *Carausius*) submit, without any struggle or opposition, to be reduced to the form of a province. Many indeed of their chiefs or heads of clans served constantly in the *Roman* armies; and *Constantine* had carried greater numbers than ordinary over with him into *Gaule*; when he went to take possession of his father's dominions on the continent: and had drawn another body of them from hence, when he was preparing to march into *Italy* against *Maxentius*. All these may reasonably enough be thought disposed to comply with such an alteration: but it may still be doubted, whether they could draw in the whole nation; the ancient *Britains* being a people not easily led into new fashions, or weaned from their rooted habits. They were too tenacious of their old customs, laws, and constitution, to be drawn into a change, unless there was something in it to suit their humour, and to sooth a vanity, which, when the virtue of a nation is lost, is the only restraining passion in the way of giving up its liberty. This is very well accounted for by the ancient books of *Pedigrees*, composed by a set of men, particularly assigned for that purpose in all ages of the *British* government, after the use of letters was known among them, and carefully preserved as valuable treasures in the best families of *Wales*; all which, though drawn up by different persons, at different times, and kept at different places, do yet agree in the following genealogy, which clashing in no respect with any part of the *Roman*, or other authentic history, seems liable to no objection that can affect its credit.

COIL³, king of the *Strath-Chyde Britains*, had the united rights of many of the most considerable *British* princes or chieftains centred in him; and marrying *Stradwen*, daughter and heiress of *Cadvan ap Conan ap Eudaff*, prince of *North-wales*, became entitled also to that principality. He died presently after *Constantine's* landing in this island had put an end to the usurpation of *Allectus*, *A. D.* 296; leaving an only son, *Cenau*, who succeeded him, and two daughters. *Cenau*, who hath been already mentioned as the first *Christian* king in *Britain*, and to whom, under his *Christian* name *Lucius*, the conversion of this island is generally ascribed,

³ *Mona Antiq.* p. 161, 162, 163, 168.

A. D. 364. cd, dying without issue, the right of the *British* kingdom, between the walls of *Adrian* and *Antoninus*, devolved upon his eldest sister *Helena*, mother to *Constantine the Great*. This last Emperor succeeding to the rights of her family, sprung of *British* blood, and thereby (as *Eumenius* says) ennobling the country; and being their natural prince and chieftain by lineal descent, found no difficulty in persuading a people infinitely devoted to their chiefs, to submit to a provincial form of government, and to make a regular part of that mighty Empire of the world, which they saw subject to a Sovereign of the greatest personal merit, and (what was still more glorious and endearing to them) by descent a *Britain*. There was something so flattering in this reflection, that the *Attacotti*, dwelling in the woods and mountains of *Wales*, kept themselves quiet all the days of *Constantine*, of his sons, and of his grandson *Julian* the apostate; and the *Romans*, imagining they had nothing more to dread from dutiful subjects, who had behaved themselves so peaceably, and contracted such an habit of obedience, took no longer their ordinary care of the forts and stations placed on the frontiers of their country, suffering them generally to fall to decay. But the case was much altered upon the death of *Julian*, in whom the line of *Helena* ending, the succession of the kingdom of the *Strath-Cluyd Britains* and of the principality of *North-wales* devolved upon *Cynetha*, surnamed *Weledig*, or the *Illustrious*, the son of *Gwawl* or *Julia*, her younger sister by *Edern*, son of *Paternus*, a considerable chieftain or prince in the northern parts of *Britain*. *Valentinian* was now Emperor; and was neither allied to the *Britains*, nor had the same affection or regard for them as his predecessors. He was very rigid in point of discipline, and very exact in looking into his revenue; so that there is little doubt to be made, but he exacted the tribute usually paid by the kings of the *Strath-Cluyd Britains* (as by all other kings in the like situation, under the protection of the Empire) which probably had been remitted, or at least never exacted from the time of *Constantine*. *Cynetha* found likewise his authority restrained, and his rights diminished in *Wales*, by its having been reduced into the form of a province, and probably was a sufferer in many other respects; whilst a new Emperor, a foreigner with respect to *Britain* and the race of her princes, would yet of course claim and assume all that authority over the *Britains*, and exact from them all those dues, services, and payments, which had been rightly exercised or cheerfully paid in the reigns of the *Constantine* family, their natural princes. These dues and services having, on their advancement to the empire, been blended with the imperial authority and pretensions, were probably afterwards, without distinction, insisted on, as usual, by the officers of succeeding Emperors; though contrary to right and reason, against the grain and inclinations, as well as to the great oppression of the *Britains*; who, fond of the race of their natural and rightful princes, and not thinking it lawful to defalk any of their dues, were by this means loaded with double payments, and services beyond their abilities. In these circumstances, nothing was more natural than for *Cynetha* and his *Strath-Cluyd Britains*, to invite their neighbours, the *Picts*, to their assistance, and for his subjects among the *Attacotti* of *Wales* to take up arms, and fall upon the *Roman* provinces in *A. D.* 368, as *Ammianus* tell us they did, in conjunction with the *Picts*, and at the same time with the *Scoti* and *Saxons*.

Of their in-
roads into
Britannia; and
...
...

XIV. THESE different nations¹, forming a confederacy together, fell at once, though in different places, upon the *Roman* territories in *Britain*; wasting them in a dreadful manner: and drawing *Nectaridius*, count of the sea coast, which used to be infested by the *Saxons*, and *Fullosfaudes*, General of the imperial forces, into an

¹ *Ammian. Marcel. l. xxvii. c. 8.*

ambush, the two commanders and a great part of their troops were slain *A. D. 364.* in the action. *Valentinian* was struck with the advices of this disaster; which overtook him on the road, as he was marching from *Amiens* towards the frontiers of *Germany*: and he immediately dispatched away *Severus*, the steward of his household, to correct the mistakes and wrong conduct of the governors, whose corruption and oppression of the subjects had been the chief cause of the insurrections and disturbances there raised¹; but the evil not being easily remedied, this officer was in a little time recalled, and *Jovinus* sent over in his stead to *Britain*. Both these governors came over without any forces, as if it was expected, that the bare offer of a redress of grievances would quell the insurrections, and restore the quiet of the provinces: but *Jovinus* finding the case far otherwise, dispatched *Provertius* back in all haste, to desire a strong army might be sent over to his assistance, as the only remedy that could be effectual in the present exigency of affairs. This being confirmed by the accounts, which were continually brought, of the desperate situation of affairs, and deplorable condition of this island, the Emperor resolved to send over *Theodosius*, a general in whom the soldiery had an entire confidence, on account of his great experience and constant success in war, with a choice body of legionary and auxiliary forces. The cohorts of the *Batavi*, *Heruli*, *Jovii* and *Victores* attended the General in this expedition; and served him for an *Escorte* from *Sandwich* to *London*; where he found the city in great distress, and the parts adjacent over-run by the *Franks* and *Saxons*. These rovers having landed on the coasts opposite to *Gaule*, destroyed all before them with fire and sword; and spreading into various quarters, left every where marks of their fury in their ruin of houses, the slaughter of captives, and the desolation of the country. As the enemy was dispersed, he divided his troops into several bodies, which attacking different parties of those rovers, as they were laden with their plunder and incumbered with droves of cattle and prisoners, which they were carrying off, easily routed them, rescued the prisoners, and recovered the booty; a small part whereof *Theodosius* distributed among his soldiers for their encouragement, and restored the rest to the right owners. He returned to *London* in triumph, having re-assured the citizens by this success and given them hopes of greater: but he had still no small difficulties to encounter, the removing of which was the subject that took up his thoughts, and merited his coolest reflections.

THE *Roman* forces at this time, seem to have been very weak, and to be all either employed on the borders, or shut up in garrisons; for we read of none that joined *Theodosius*. Their forts likewise were in an ill condition, and so little discipline and order observed among the soldiery, that abundance of them had left their colours, and rambled about the country; all the effects of a long peace, and a too great security. The enemy, on the contrary, was exceeding strong; infinite numbers of different nations ravaging all parts, so that it was dangerous to attack them in their united strength by open force; and the only safe way of subduing them, was by surprizing and cutting off their small parties. To make this method the more effectual, he took another, very rarely, if ever, practised by the *Romans*; he published a general pardon and indemnity for all persons; which brought abundance back to their duty, and many deserters to his standard. Finding the good effect of this measure, and thinking it proper to assure the provincial subjects of justice being impartially administered among them, he desired *Civilis*, a strict but equitable and upright magistrate, might be sent over

¹ *Ib.* l. xxx. c. 9.

A. D. 364. to govern *Britain*, and *Dulcitius*, an excellent general, to serve in the army.

THEODOSIUS¹ having by these and other means re-inforced his army, and prepared for the next year's campaign, marched from *London* against the enemy; whom he found elated with their former success, and plundering in great security: nor did he fail of any opportunity of surprizing them; doing himself, on all occasions, the duty of a brave soldier, as well as of an experienced officer, and routing the enemy in many engagements. This success had like to have been interrupted by a conspiracy; which might have ruined all the *Roman* affairs in *Britain*, if it had not been crushed in the very beginning. It was an usual thing for the Emperor to banish persons convicted of great crimes into this island, as the remotest corner of the empire, where they were least capable of doing mischief: and, among others, one *Valentinus*, of a proud, haughty, seditious temper, had for an heinous offence been sent hither in the quality of an exile. This man, ever restless, and bent upon mischief, formed a design against the General: and tried all the ways that could be contrived to draw in the other exiles and the soldiers; whom he tempted by promises of great rewards to join with him in his intended insurrection. The plot was on the point of being executed, when it was discovered to *Theodosius*: who crushed it at once by putting *Valentinus*, with his chief accomplices to death, and, by a conduct worthy of his wisdom and generosity, stopping all further enquiry in relation to the rest of the conspirators; lest the guilt being too general, the dread of punishment should drive many to despair, and revive the troubles of the provinces, which were very near being intirely pacified. Fortune, which rarely, if ever, deserts wisdom, attended him in all his enterprizes: he cleared the *Roman* territories of the barbarians that invaded them; and then applied himself to redress grievances, to correct disorders, to repair the cities and forts that had been damaged, to strengthen the garrisons, and make other regulations for the quiet, security, and good government of the provinces.

THERE were four provinces already; each under a particular president: to these he added a fifth, by recovering the country between the walls of *Adrian* and *Antoninus* from the enemy, who had seized it on this invasion, and reducing it into the form of a province; to which, in honour of the Emperor, he gave the name of *Valentia*, and assigned it likewise a special governor. Having drove the *Caledonians* into their own country, he fortified both those walls or *Prætenturæ*; and supplied them with cohorts of observation, or *Vigiles*, instead of the *Armeni*; who used formerly to be employed in scouring the adjacent country in order to learn the motions of the bordering nations, but had been removed by him, upon proof of their being guilty of bribery, and giving intelligence to the enemy. The provisions he made in all cases were admirably adapted to the ends he proposed, and so well calculated to advance the happiness of the provinces, that they considered him in the same light as the *Romans* did *Furius Camillus* or *Papirius Cursor*; whom he equalled in the number and importance of his victories. Every body attended him with wonderful affection and acclamations to the sea side, when he quitted *Britain*; being sent for by the Emperor to fill the great dignity of *Master of the cavalry*; which was given him as a reward for his services.

THEODOSIUS had acquitted himself so well of his commission in this island, that he was soon after employed in another full as difficult; in reducing the *Moors* who had revolted, and in pacifying the province of *Africa*; which he effected with the like success. *Ammianus*² tell us, that the disturbances in that country, as well

¹ *Ammian. Marcel.* l. xxviii. c. 3.

² *L.* xxx. c. ix.

as those of *Britain*, were entirely owing to the ill conduct, corruption, and oppression of the *Roman* governours, and to the Emperor's too great indulgence of them; turning a deaf ear to all the complaints made by the provincials against the measures of his chief officers, as if he thought it a calling of his own authority in question. He doth not acquaint us with the particular measures taken by *Theodosius* to quiet *Britain*; but as the remedies must be suited to the causes of a distemper, we may reasonably conclude them to be such as removed the grounds of the complaints of the *Britains*, redressed their grievances, and eased them in their taxes and public contributions; measures which must naturally endear him to that people, and which were not unacceptable to *Valentinian*; whose ready compliance in that point, might probably be one of those instances which occasioned *Ammianus* to celebrate this Emperor's tenderness to his provinces, in lightening the burden of their tributes. We are however assured by *Claudian* and *Latinus Pacatus Drappanius*¹, that one of the methods he took for the security of *Britain*, was the fitting out a navy: which he employed so successfully against the *Scots* and *Saxons*, that having beat them in several sea-engagements, he confined the one to their bogs, and ruined the naval power of the others; thus restoring to the *Romans* the empire of the sea, in the *Hyperborean* or western, over which he pursued the former, as well as in the *German*, ocean, which used to be covered with the fleets of the latter. *Britain* thus secured from having her coasts insulted by transmarine nations, and settled within herself on an happy footing, by the wise regulations of *Theodosius*, enjoyed some years of peace; till ambition came in to interrupt her quiet; and her warm espousing the cause of an usurper of the empire, laid the foundation of her utter ruin.

A. D. 364.

VALENTINIAN dying on *November 17, A. D. 375*, was succeeded in the western empire by *Gratian*; a young prince, given up to diversions; negligent of state affairs; corrupted by his favourites, who flattered him in all his inclinations; and so unhappy in the choice of the persons, whom he honoured with his good graces, and with the most distinguished marks of his confidence, that a few of the *Alani*, a *Scythian* nation, having deserted to him, he not only loaded them with presents, but trusted them with all his counsels, and employed them in affairs of the greatest importance, without any regard to his own soldiers; who grew thereupon universally discontented. The *Roman* army in *Britain* was, at all times, the most ready of any to take offence, and break out into an insurrection upon such a provocation: and it was now under a commander, who made it his business to aggravate the affront, and inflame their discontents. *Maximus*², a *Spaniard* by birth (which afforded a colour for his pretence of being related to *Theodosius*) had great talents, and many good qualities; which gained him the love and esteem of the soldiery, and would have conveyed his name with honour to posterity, if he had not sullied them all by his usurpation. He had served with reputation in *Britain*, under *Theodosius* above-mentioned, in an equal post with the General's son *Theodosius*; who had on *January 16, A. D. 379*, been by *Gratian* declared Emperor of the East: and *Maximus* had vanity enough to think himself full as worthy of the imperial dignity; though the event fully justified the choice that had been made of his rival. He resented this preference as a personal injury; and left no means untried, not only to debauch the *Roman* army under his command, in which there was little difficulty, but to engage also the provincial *Britains* on his side: which, in the happy situation of their affairs, would not have been an easy matter, were it not for some particular advantages he had for gaining over the most hardy and warlike of those people to his interest. He had lived many years in the country, pos-

A. D. 375.

¹ *Panegyric. Theod. M. inter Panegy. Veteres.*² *Zof. l. iv. Pacat. Panegy.*

A. D. 375. felled of a command; which gave him a great authority over the people, and continual opportunities of obliging them: he had married likewise ¹ *Helena*, the daughter of *Eudda*, a considerable chieftain of *North-wales*, in which country she was born at *Caer-segont* (now *Caer-narvon*) where her chapel is to be seen still remaining. This *British* lady was probably a near relation of *Helena*, mother of *Constantine the Great*, and daughter of *Cadvan*, prince of *North-wales*: and the affinity, which *Maximus* contracted by this marriage with the family of that Emperor, seems to be the only foundation for the alliance he pretended with it, as well as for his assuming (if he really did, as *Baronius* says, assume) the name of *Flavius*, and styling himself *Flavius Clemens Maximus*. This alliance with a people, who extend their consanguinity, and the ties of it, to farther degrees than most others; the power and interest of his wife's relations; the name of *Constantine*, infinitely revered in *Britain*; and the hopes of seeing in young *Victor*, the son of *Maximus* by *Helena*, a prince of *British* blood, once more upon the throne of the empire, were considerations too flattering and powerful for the *Britains* to resist: and they readily embarked in his cause, as soon as the army had declared him Emperor.

MAXIMUS knew himself still too weak to maintain his usurpation, unless he could draw over some other *Roman* armies to join him: and without loss of time, assembling all the bravest of the *British* youth (which their writers swell up to an incredible number) transported them with the *Roman* forces to *Gaule*; where landing at the mouth of the *Rhine*, he was soon joined by the legions quartered in that neighbourhood, and by those of *Germany*. *Gratian* marched against him with a strong army; but being betrayed by his Generals, and deserted by his troops, fled towards *Lyon*, and was killed near that place, on *August 25, A. D. 383*, by *Andragathius*. *Maximus*, by his death, remained absolute master of *Gratian's* share of the empire: but not content with it, drove, in *August A. D. 387*, *Valentinian II.* out of *Italy*; which, though it seemed to raise his power, as it did his insolence, hastened his ruin. *Theodosius*, not intimidated by the menaces of *Maximus*, advanced against him with an army of veterans, used under his own conduct to victory; routed the usurper's forces in two battles: and having taken him near *Aquileia*, in *August, A. D. 388*; put him to death, after five years possession of the imperial dignity. It was during his stay at *Aquileia*, that *Theodosius* published that famous law ², by which he declared all the acts done, the edicts passed, and the honours conferred by the late usurper to be null and invalid; ordering every thing to return to its former state, and every person to his former condition: which was followed soon after by another of *Valentinian's* to the same effect; and by a third, in the beginning of the year following. The moderation and regard to justice, that appeared in the conduct of *Theodosius*, after these victories; which the *Romans* thought so glorious, as to institute an anniversary festival to celebrate their memory, were every way worthy of his magnanimity; for he not only restored *Valentinian* to his former dominions, but gave him likewise those of *Gratian*. *Andragathius* was with a fleet in the *Mediterranean*, when he heard the news of these events: and seeing his condition desperate, threw himself over-board. *Victor*, who had been declared *Cæsar*, and left in *Gaule*, was taken, and put to death by *Arbogastes*: and the *British* forces there kept for the guard of his person, and security of the country, not able to return home for want of shipping, retired into the extremest province of it towards the west; perhaps at first in hopes of getting a passage to *Britain*; but either finding some of their countrymen already there, or seeing

¹ *Mona Antiq.* p. 166, 167, &c. ² *Kal. Ost. dat. Aquileia*, l. vi. *De infirmendis quæ sub Ty-*
ranni. And vi. *Id. Ost. Dat. Mediol.* l. vii. And viii. *codem. Tit.* See *Cod. Theod.*

themselves unmolested, whilst all other parts of the Empire were invaded or overrun by innumerable multitudes of barbarians, they are said to have fixed their seats in *Armorica*, where their posterity hath ever since continued, and changed the old name of the province into that of *Bretagne*¹. A. D. 387.

BRITAIN, in the mean time, drained of the forces, which should defend the country, and deprived of the fleet which used to guard the seas, was left exposed to the invasion and depredations of foreign nations. The *Scots* of *Ireland* did not fail to lay hold on the opportunity; for it was in this year that St. *Patrick*, in the sixteenth of his age, was taken captive, with about an hundred persons more, by a party of them, that landed not far from *Arcluyd* or *Dunbritton*, among the *Strath-cluyd Britains* in the province of *Valentia*: but as these incursions were made only by some particular *septs*, or parties of rovers, with no view but of plunder, they seem to have done no great mischief. *Chrysantus* too was probably sent over at this time, as Vicar-general or deputy of *Britain*; it not being easy to assign any other juncture, in which *Theodosius* (in whose court he had been bred up) should offer to intermeddle in ordering the affairs of the western Empire². There is little doubt to be made, but he put an effectual stop to the depredations of the *Scots*; since otherwise he could hardly have attained to that height of glory, which he acquired by his administration of affairs in this island. But this quiet seems to have lasted no longer than the life of *Theodosius*: who, upon the death of *Valentinian II.* (who was murdered by *Arbogastes* May 15, A. D. 392) and his victory over the usurper *Eugenius*, became sole master of the Empire; and died full of glory, at *Milan*, on *January* 17, A. D. 395, leaving his son *Honorius*, a minor, to succeed him in the Empire of the West, and the affairs thereof under the care and management of *Stilico*. This young prince was but ten years of age, when he came to the throne, at a time when the *Roman* affairs were in such distress, that the wisest and greatest of their Emperors would scarce have been able to make head against the infinite numbers of enemies; which, surrounding the Empire on all sides, were ready to invade it upon the first favourable opportunity. This being offered by the minority of *Honorius*, *Neil Nao-gaillac*, the chief of the *Irish* monarchs, raised all the power of *Ireland* to fall upon *Britain*: and seems to have chosen to attack that part of it, which was most defenceless, and so well affected always to the *Roman* government, that it needed no garrison to keep it in due obedience. Such was the condition of what is now called the *West of England*; nor could he well land in any other quarter, if what the author of one of the lives of St. *Patrick* says be true, that he ravaged the country as far as the sea coast, which lies opposite to *Gaule*. But wherever he made his descent, or ranged afterwards, he was, before A. D. 399, by the forces which *Stilico*³ sent to oppose him and the *Picts*, who made incursions likewise into the northern parts of *Britain*, forced in a little time to quit the country: and the other invaders, whether *Picts* or *Saxons*, were so roughly handled by the legion then sent over, that *Britain* was for some time free from their depredations, and the inhabitants lived in perfect security. A. D. 395.

IN this tranquillity they remained till A. D. 403; when *Alaric*, with a mighty army of *Goths*, invading *Italy*, and threatening *Rome* itself, *Stilico* was forced to get A. D. 403.

¹ This is related purely upon the credit of the ancient *British* writers, for no *Greek* or *Latin* author takes notice of this retreat of the remains of *Maximus's* army to *Armorica*; however, as several states of *Gaule*, casting off their dependence on the *Roman* Empire, set up for themselves about this time; and it was natural for the remains of the *British* youth to retire to a country, with which they had in all ages held a continual commerce; and where, in the distresses of the Empire, they

might naturally expect protection, the silence of those authors, in that point, doth not appear sufficient to warrant a rejecting the testimony of the *British*; especially since one of these, *Llewarch Hen*, prince of *Cumberland*, lived within 150 years of the time of this settlement of his countrymen in the *Armorican Bretagne*.

² *Socrat. Hist. Eccl.* l. vii. c. 12.

³ *Claudian de laud. Stilicon.* l. ii. & in *Eut.* l. i.

A. D. 403. together all the forces he could from every quarter of the Empire, and to recal from ¹ *Britain* the legion that served to guard the northern borders from the *Picts*, and the eastern coast against the *Saxons*; in order to make up an army able to fight that dangerous enemy, whom he routed at *Pollentia* in *Piedmont*.

THIS weakning of the *Roman* forces in *Britain*, tempted the *Picts* on the northern borders to make some inroads into the province of *Valentia*, which was then left exposed; and encouraged the *Scots* to make descents on the coast, for the sake of plunder and captives, which they carried off to *Ireland* from time to time: but these piratical incursions, sudden, transitory, and difficult to be prevented, though they were very grievous to some particulars, do not seem to have affected the country in general. The seditious humour of the *Roman* soldiers, and the spirit of rebellion and usurpation, which still infected them, notwithstanding the miserable ends which had ever attended those whom they advanced to the purple, was of much greater consequence: and proved in the event fatal to the *Britains*, and the utter ruin of their country. They set up, in *A. D. 407*, one ² *Marcas* for Emperor; but growing soon weary of the man, put him to death; and advanced in his stead one *Gratian*; who seems, by his cognomen of *Municeps*, to have been a citizen of one of the *Municipia* in *Britain*. This creature of theirs did not continue in their good graces above four months; when he underwent the same fate as his predecessor: and they set up *Constantine*, a man of low rank, for the sake of his name; which was exceeding popular in this island. This usurper, either more enterprising than the others, or in hopes of avoiding their fate by employing the soldiery, and of strengthening his party by gaining the *Roman* forces on the continent, resolved to pass over the sea into *Gaule*, with all the forces he could raise in *Britain*: and landing at *Boulogne*, was acknowledged by all the *Roman* armies on this side the *Alpes*. *Stilico* sent *Sarus* with a good body of troops to recover *Gaule*; who had at first some success, routing *Constantine's* army, and pursuing him to *Valence* in *Dauphiné*, which he invested: but the siege was soon raised, upon the approach of *Edobechus*, a *Frank*, and *Gerontius*, a *Britain*, two experienced generals; and *Sarus* being obliged to retire, was forced to purchase of the *Bagrudæ*, a passage through the *Alpes* to *Italy*.

A. D. 408. *CONSTANTINE* having thus established his power in *Gaule*, created his ³ eldest son *Constans*, *Cæsar*, and sent him to reduce *Spain*: which generally following the fate of *Gaule*, and being entirely destitute of forces for its defence, was easily reduced. *Didymus* and *Verinianus*, relations of *Honorius*, made some head against him in *Lusitania*; and gathering a number of peasants and slaves together, cut off some of his men: but fresh supplies coming to the enemy, they were defeated and taken prisoners; the whole country submitting without any further opposition. *Constans* thereupon returned to his father, having left a party of his men to guard the passes of the *Pyrenees*, which had been ever before entrusted to the *Spaniards* themselves: who now desired the same commission, but were flatly refused; the usurper not caring to trust the natives with the defence of their own country. This proved soon after of very bad consequence; for *Constans's* mercenaries, either negligent of their charge, or flying from it upon the decline of *Constantine's* affairs, left the passes open to the *Vandals*, *Suevi*, and *Alani*: who seizing them, did infinite mischief to the inhabitants of the neighbouring provinces, ravaging both *Gaule* and *Spain* at their pleasure.

FORTUNE had hitherto favoured the usurper in all his enterprizes; and flattering him with the hopes of further conquests, made him forget the services of those, to whom what he had already made were chiefly owing: but she raised him only

¹ *Claudian. de bello Getico.*

² *Zosim. l. vi. initio.*

³ *Sozomen. l. ix. c. 11, 12, 13, 14.*

to crush him with the greater ruin, by those very hands which had contributed *A. D. 408.* most to his advancement and success. He had drawn *Alaric*, the chief General of *Honorius*, into a plot for betraying his master, and giving up the rest of the western Empire; he had, in confidence thereof, advanced with an army as far as *Verona* in *Italy*: but the conspiracy being discovered, and *Alaric* killed, he returned back into *Gaule* with great precipitation, and such a loss of reputation, as paved the way for his utter destruction. When he set out on his *Italian* expedition, he had sent his son *Constans* back again to *Spain*, with *Justus*, an officer in whom he confided, to take upon him the command of the forces in that country; which disobliterated *Gerontius*, the ablest of his Generals, who had hitherto been possessed of that command. Enraged at this affront, *Gerontius* set up *Maximus*, a relation of his own, for Emperor: and leaving him at *Tarragona* with the soldiers he had engaged in his party, put himself at the head of a body of the barbarians that hovered about the *Pyrenees*, and marched against *Constantine*, whose son *Constans* he slew in his way, at *Vienne*. *Constantine* shut himself up in *Arles*, in hopes of being relieved by the *Franks* and *Alemanni*, whom he was soliciting for succours; and was there invested by *Gerontius*: but *Constantius*, the father of *Valentinian*, who was afterwards Emperor, coming up with *Honorius's* army, most of *Gerontius's* troops deserted. This forced him to fly with a small number of *Spanish* soldiers: who despising him on this disaster, resolved to take away his life; and attacking the house where he lay, reduced him to the necessity of killing himself. *Constantine* did not long survive him; for the army of *Germans*, which *Edovicus* brought to his relief, being routed by *Constantius*, he quitted the purple, and got himself ordained priest, in hopes of saving his life by that expedient: but it did not answer his purpose; for *Constantius* sending him, with his son *Julian*, to *Honorius*, he was put to death on the road to *Italy*¹. His head was brought to the Emperor on *September 18, A. D. 411*: and *Maximus* soon after meeting with the same fate, *Gaule* and *Spain* were recovered to the Empire. *A. D. 411.*

It was during this rebellion, that, *Zosimus* says, the defection of *Britain* and *Armorica* happened; several other provinces of *Gaule* following their example. The greatest part of *Constantine's* army had been sent with his son to *Spain*; and when the usurper submitted, made the best of their way to their countrymen in *Armorica*: where, joining with those that had formerly retired thither, they found themselves strong enough to set up an independent government; which they easily maintained at a time, when nothing but confusion reigned in the Empire. All the *Roman* forces had been carried out of *Britain*; so that (as the same author says) the *Britains* were forced to take arms themselves to defend the country against their enemies: and notwithstanding they were, in a manner, exhausted by the repeated levies of vast numbers of their bravest youth, which had been carried into foreign parts, and never returned again, they did it for some time with good success, and put a stop to the incursions and depredations of the barbarians, who had been encouraged by *Constantine's* usurpation to renew their hostilities.² *Sabellicus* says, that after the taking of *Rome* by *Alaric*, and the death of *Constantine*, *Honorius* recovered *Britain*, and reannexed it to the Empire: nor is it unlikely, considering that this island generally followed the fate of *Gaule*, and the affairs of the *Romans* were in a prosperous condition in that country, especially after *A. D. 414*, when the *Goths* were driven thence by *Constantius*. This great man, by his valour and good conduct, supported the reputation of the Empire as long as he lived; but he dying in *September, A. D. 421*, the *Romans*, who were settled in this island, despairing

¹ *Cod. Theod. Chronol. T. i. p. 157. Idacius in Consul. & Chron. Brit. p. 313.*

² *Ennead. 8. l. i. Usher's Antiq.*

A. D. 421. probably, upon that occasion, of any further care being taken of its defence, buried most of their treasures under ground, and removed hence to the continent. The *Saxon Chronicle* places their departure three years earlier; but this is owing to the mistake of the compilers about the beginning of the *Christian* æra, which makes them advance the death of St. *Alban* and the council of *Arles* in the same manner.

A. D. 423. *HONORIUS* dying in *August*, *A. D. 423*, was succeeded by his nephew *Valentinian III.* in whose time the *Picts* and *Scots*¹, who before only used to make incursions into *Britain*, in a way of piracy, and with a view of rapine, made a league together, in order to fix settlements, and make a conquest of the country. There was no garrison at this time in *Britain*; so that the succours which (*Sigebertus Gemblacensis* says) *Honorius* had sent over thither the year before his death, at the same time that he sent others to *Spaine* against the *Vandali*, had been recalled before this confederacy. The invasion, which was the consequence thereof, doth not seem to be made so early in *Valentinian's* reign, as is generally imagined; for (*Sabellicus* says that) *Ætius* was then in *Gaule*, and,

A. D. 432. upon application made to him for succours by the *Britains*, who were unable to make head against the numerous forces of the enemy, he sent² a legion to their assistance, for fear those two warlike nations should make a conquest of the island, and be enabled by that acquisition to distress the affairs of the Empire. The *Britains* did as yet profess subjection to the imperial authority; and this legion, which routed the *Picts* and *Scots* in several engagements, and drove them entirely out of the country, restored the quiet of the inhabitants; who enjoyed a longer season of peace, than they had done some years before, in virtue of the protection which they received from this garrison of a single legion. The phrase here made use of shews it staid some time in this island; though it doth not appear how long that stay was, nor when the legion was recalled: and the

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Felix* had the chief command, and was *Magister Militum* in *Gaule*, presently after *Valentinian's* accession to the Empire; whilst *Ætius* took part with the usurper *John*, and was in *Pannonia*, soliciting the *Huns* to espouse his party. *Felix* continued in that dignity till his death, which happened *A. D. 430*, at *Ravenna*; upon which *Ætius* succeeded him in that command, and came soon after, perhaps the year following, into *Gaule*; that being the time, which *Idacius*, who was with him as an ambassador in the expedition, fixeth for the recovery of what the *Franks* had seized in that country about *Cologne*. *Gaule* being thus cleared of the enemies, which attacked it on the side of the *Rhine*, the succeeding year, *A. D. 432*, seems to be a proper season for *Ætius's* allowing the legion mentioned by *Sabellicus*, to pass over and continue some time in *Britain*. *Blondus* (*Dec. 1. l. ii.*) agrees with *Sabellicus* in this account, and particularly in the legion's securing *Britain*, *quam diu affuit*, "during its stay in the country;" but both of them say, "it was recalled, when the *Burgundians* seemed to prepare for new disturbances; upon which the *Scots* and *Picts* made fresh incursions over *Britain*, and *Valentinian* sent *Gallio* *Ravennas* thither, with the legion which *Ætius* had quartered in the garrisons of *Paris*, *Sens*, and *Orleans*." This supply animating the *British* chieftains, they drove the enemy out of their country, but *Gallio* was soon recalled, in order to be sent against *Boniface* in *Africa*, where he was slain not long after

his landing. These circumstances allow very little time for the stay of the first legion in *Britain*, and seem to fix the sending of the second to *A. D. 426*. because *Prosper*, in his *Chronicle*, placeth the war begun at the instigation of *Felix* against *Boniface*, and the death of *Gallio*, in *A. D. 427*, when *Hirius* and *Ardabures* were consuls. Were it not for this authority, I should think *Ætius's* sending over a legion ought to be postponed, till he came to have the supreme command in *Gaule*, because till that time the application for succours would naturally be made to *Felix*, and not (as *Sabellicus* represents it) to *Ætius* himself. But if *Gallio* was killed *A. D. 427*, in *Africa*, his expedition to *Britain* with the second legion must be placed in the precedent year, *A. D. 426*, and then the legion sent over before must arrive there *A. D. 425*, the first moment of time in which it was possible for *Ætius* to send such a succour. This great man was born about *A. D. 396*, and was an hostage among the *Huns*, from *A. D. 411*, to 415. He took part with the usurper *John*, in *A. D. 423*, and was sent by him into *Pannonia* the year following; but returned thence *A. D. 425*. and having, upon *John's* death in *July*, sent back the *Huns*, and made his peace with *Valentinian*, was afterwards employed against the *Goths*, who were besieging *Arles*. He raised the siege indeed, routed the enemy, and took their chieftain *Anasoph* prisoner; but as this must take up the end of summer, there seems little reason to think he should be able to spare a legion at that time for the service of *Britain*.

application being made to *Gaule*, and not to *Rome*, for succours, looks as if it was to oppose a different invasion from those mentioned by *Bede* and *Gildas*¹.

THESE two authors tell us, that the *Britains*, being harassed by the incursions of the *Picts* from the north, and of the *Scots* from *Ireland*, sent to *Rome* for assistance; with the strongest assurances of their continuing ever subject to the Empire, if they might be secured from their enemies. A legion, not concerned in any of the late seditions, was sent them, well provided with arms: which engaging with the barbarians, slew a great multitude of them; and drove the rest, not only out of the provinces, but beyond the lands of the *Britains*, who, dwelling beyond the wall of *Severus*, were considered as allies; rescuing the captives which had been taken. As soon as the *Romans* had thus done the service for which they came, they returned home in triumph; having first advised the *Britains* to rebuild the wall of *Antoninus* between the friths of *Forth* and *Clud*, for thither (*Bede*² assures us) the *Roman* dominion extended; though the *Romans* themselves lived only on the south of that of *Severus*, all the country between the two walls being inhabited entirely by the *Britains*. We see on this occasion, how ill qualified the *Britains* were to defend their country; and we need not wonder at the advantages which their enemies had over them, when the natives did not understand either how to make arms, or to erect a fortification. This was the effect, as well of a military government; which, out of a jealousy of the subject, did not care that any body should be used to arms, or skilled in what might be of service in war, but their own mercenaries; as of the *Roman* policy, which had particular colleges of men, to whom the fabrick of arms was appropriated, and took care to have artificers and workmen of all kinds among the soldiers of their legions.

THE *Britains* repaired the wall, as they built their own cabins, with fods and turf, for want of workmen that understood how to build with stone; so that it proved a very weak defence, especially when the defendants were liable to be attacked behind as well as before, upon the enemy's passing the *Friths* in their boats and curroghs. The *Scots* and *Picts*, having surmounted this obstacle to their incursions, over-ran the country, destroying all before them, and still advancing forwards, till the *Britains* applied again by their ambassadors to *Rome* for succours, and procured another legion to be sent to their assistance. This coming over with wonderful expedition, arrived in the autumn, so unexpectedly, that they surprized the enemy as they were scattered about the country, pillaging as usual in great security, without any notion of being opposed: and making a terrible slaughter among them, drove the few that escaped beyond the *Friths*, to the retreats where they used to lay up their annual booties. The *Romans* thereupon told the *Britains*, that they could not be continually coming over sea and land on such fatiguing expeditions, to oppose a rabble of pilfering rovers; and therefore they should take arms themselves for the defence of their lives, liberties, and country; the enemy having no advantage over them in point of force, but what was owing purely to their own inactivity. To do them still another service before their departure, they directed and assisted the natives in repairing the wall of *Severus*, which was built of stone, and lined with cities all the way between sea and sea; which the enemy could not so easily pass, as they did the *Friths*, to attack them behind. They erected likewise on the coast of the ocean, to the south of the wall, several exploratory turrets, affording a large prospect of the sea, at proper distances from each other; and leaving the *Britains* samples of arms, with instructions how to make them for their defence, quitted the island with a fixed resolution of never returning any more to *Britain*.

¹ *Hist. Eccl.* l. i. c. 11.² *Ib.* c. 10.

A
GENERAL HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

BOOK III.

Containing an Account of Transactions, from the
Arrival of the *Saxons* in BRITAIN, to the End
of the Heptarchy.

A. D. 448.

State of *Britain*, after the
Romans quit-
ted it.

I. **T**HE time of the *Romans* quitting *Britain* is not so well ascertained, as the year of the last application, which the *Britains* made to *Ætius* for succours against the *Picts* and *Scots*, who were ravaging their country. The ¹ melancholy letter, representing the miseries which they suffered, and the terrible extremity to which they were reduced, and addressed to him on that occasion, proves indisputably that it was *A. D. 448*, when that General was for the third time consul with *Symmachus*. *Attila* with an infinite number of *Huns*, and other barbarous people, whom he had reduced and united under his command, was at that time meditating an invasion of the *Roman Empire*; resolving to begin with *Pannonia*, and threatening to over-run *Gaule*, and all the western provinces, that as yet acknowledged the imperial authority. All the forces of the Empire were too weak to oppose so formidable an enemy: and *Ætius* had need of all his art and credit to engage the *Visigoths* and *Franks* to join their forces to those of the *Romans*; in order to make head in the field against an army, which seemed to vye with that of *Xerxes* in number, and was ready to involve them all in a common destruction. The event indeed proved at last infinitely glorious to *Ætius*: but till the danger was over, and the storm, then gathering, dispelled, it was impracticable for him to spare any body of troops for the relief of *Britain*; the inhabitants whereof, untrained to war, and without either arms or skill to use them, were thereby left in a defenceless condition, to provide, as well as they could of

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¹ *Bede in Chron. Gildas, n. 17.*

themselves.

themselves, for their own safety. We may however observe in them, under these distressed circumstances, a very different conduct from what appeared, about the same time, in the behaviour of all other nations, from one end of the Empire to the other, in the like situation. The *Roman* policy not allowing their ordinary subjects to be instructed in the use of arms and discipline of war, the sole support of the government rested in the legions: and when these were either withdrawn or broken, all the provinces of the Empire lay exposed an easy prey to the first invader. Hence it was, that the *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Alans*, *Franks*, and other barbarous nations, when they fell upon any province, whilst the legions were employed elsewhere at a distance, never met with any opposition from the inhabitants: and had little more to do than to take possession of the country. Thus were all other *European* nations, that had been subject to the *Romans*, subdued in a moment; whilst the *Britains* alone stood up manfully in defence of their country: and though they were conquered at last, it was not without much difficulty, a great length of time, and more frequent and bloody battles, than were fought by any other people without foreign assistance.

A. D. 448.

THE enemies, which now invaded them, were the *Picts* and *Scots*; the same nations that had by concert been harassing them for near a century before; but who were now grown more formidable than ever, and more able to do them mischief. The confederacy between them seems to have been made about *A. D. 360*, in the reign of *Neil Naegaillac*, the chief monarch of *Ireland*; in whose time, *Giraldus Cambrensis*¹ says, six sons of *Mured*, king of *Ulster*, came from that country with a large fleet to the north parts of *Britain*, and settled there with the *Scots*, who followed them in the expedition. *Usher*² is clearly of opinion, that *Reuda*, from whom this colony took the name of *Dalreudini*³, was one, probably the eldest, of these sons of *Mured*; and that this settlement was made in the time assigned for it in the *Tripartite*, or fourth *life* of *St. Patrick*. The parts of *Scotland*, wherein they settled, are universally agreed to be *Cantire*, *Knapdale*, *Lorn*, and *Argile*, on the western coast of that country, and to the north of the *Firth* of *Cluyd*, and the castle of *Dunbritton*. This was the strongest fortress of the *Strath-Cluyd Britains*; and as it lay on the northern extremity of their kingdom, the lands about it were not tilled: nor had the inhabitants any fixed habitation, but lived like *Nemetes* or *Nomades*, in tents or slight huts; attending their cattle whilst they grazed, and driving them from place to place for the convenience of pasture. This appears evidently from the concurrent testimony of all the ancient writers of the life of *St. Patrick*, who was taken, when a boy at *Nem-thor*, in this country of the *Nemetes* (or of *tents*, as it was otherwise called) by the *Scots*, and sold to an *Irish* chieftain in *Ulster*. The borders of adjoining nations, living always in a state either of unsettled peace, or of open war with one another, are never well cultivated, and are for the most part but thinly inhabited; so that it cost the *Picts* little to allow the *Scots* a settlement in those parts, when they came to assist them against their common enemy. This was an usual practice, in those ages, over all the world: and was continued between the inhabitants of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, so low down as the reign of *Queen Elizabeth*; as *Camben* observes in his account of the *Clan-Donells* in the county of *Mayo*.

THIS *Dalreudian* colony was strengthened, from time to time, by new supplies of *Scots* from *Ireland*; as the occasions of war, or hopes of plunder invited them over: and the sea between the two countries being passable for their small boats, or *Curroghs*, only in some favourable seasons or days in the year, great numbers of them must frequently winter, and came afterwards to settle entirely in *Scotland*.

¹ *Top. Hibern. Dist.* iii. c. 16.

² *Antiq. Brit.* p. 306.

³ *Bed. Hist. Eccl.* l. i. c. 1.

A. D. 448. These coming over at first under six independent chieftains, and in process of time under several others of the like little potentates, seem to have fought under the banner of the *Picts*, and to have been frequently confounded with them by ancient writers: and being generally of the race of the *Crutheni* or *Cruitneach*¹, who inhabited *Clancboy*, might very justly deserve the name of *Picts*, as well because the *Irish* word *Cruitneach* hath the same signification, as because they marked by incision on their bodies, those figures, which the *Old Britains* generally drew on theirs by painting. This confusion of the names of these different people lasted till *A. D.* 503; when² *Fergus*, son of *Erc*, bringing with him a very powerful body of *Ulster Scots*, came over and settled in *Argileshire* and *Braid Albin*. This prince, much over-topping the other *Scotch* chieftains in power, and arriving in a time, when jealousies were arisen, and a war going to commence between the *Albany-Scots* and *Picts* (a juncture which, rendering his assistance necessary to the former, and obliging them to compliment him with the chief command of all their united forces, was very favourable to his ambition) found himself, in a few years, enabled by his success, to assume the title of King, and to lay the foundation of that monarchy; which, having flourished for 300 years in those parts, extended itself afterwards over the rest of *North-Britain*, and caused it to be distinguished by the name of *Scotland*. It is perhaps needless to observe, that these *Scotch* colonies, being bounded on the west by the ocean, and on the south by the *Strath-Cluyd Britains*, whose kingdom subsisted till after that of the *Picts* was destroyed, could only enlarge their settlements towards the east and north, in proportion as the *Picts* quitted those parts; till at length they possessed all the country, which lay between the eastern and northern ridges of the *Grampian* mountains, and the ocean.

THE *Picts* naturally retired from those barren parts, as they gained ground in a richer country; which they were enabled to do after *A. D.* 360; when they first entered into a confederacy with the *Scots* of *Ireland*, and found the benefit of their assistance. This was an alliance so very convenient for both people, and so proper to gratify, as well the animosity of the one against the *Romans*, as the plundering and roving humour of the others, that it would undoubtedly have been made some ages before, had the *Scots* been settled in that island earlier than the time assigned for it, in the reign of *Constantine the Great*. The *Picts*, encouraged by the success of these new allies, were ever after in a state of war with the *Romans*, and the *Britains* who lived under their dominion or protection, between the walls of *Antoninus* and *Severus*; falling upon their territories, and harassing them with continual hostilities: till at last, about *A. D.* 432 (for³ *Bede* placeth it after the thirty-fourth year of the age of the Emperor *Theodosius* II. and the eighth of the reign of *Valentinian* III. when *Palladius* was sent to convert *Ireland*) upon hearing that the *Romans* had resolved to send no more succours to *Britain*, they left off the practice of carrying home the booty, which they had got in their incursions, and took possession of all the eastern part of the country that lay between the two walls; settling themselves with their families in *Lothian* and *Northumberland*. These wars, and the progress which the *Picts* were daily making, gave occasion to two very considerable alterations in the state of their country, and the nature of their constitution.

It hath been already observed from *Dio*, that the *Picts*, the *Mæatae*, as well as the *Caledonians*, were, in the beginning of the third century, subject to no common head; but lived after the primitive manner of all the northern nations, in separate clans, under the command of their particular chieftains, succeeding lineally to that

¹ So called from *Cruith*, *figura*, *Antiq. Brit.* p. 301. *Ecc.* l. i. c. 12, 13.

² *Ib.* 319, &c.

³ *In Chron. & Hist.*

authority, which the first progenitor of a family enjoyed, by the law of nature, over the several branches thereof, and transmitted to his posterity, according to the course of nature, in the order of their respective lines and descent. The long series of peace and tranquillity, which reigned in those northern parts of *Britain*, from the time of *Dio* to *A. D.* 360, afforded no occasion for any change in this part of their constitution during that interval: but afterwards, when the *Picts*, strengthened by the succours of the *Scots*, and emboldened by the decay of the *Roman* power, entertained views of conquest, and embarked in continual wars to extend their territories, a General in chief became absolutely necessary. This charge naturally devolved upon the most considerable of those chieftains; who, living nearest the enemy, had the greatest experience and skill in military affairs, and were the most interested in the event of the war: and the powers annexed to it, of distributing the conquered lands among his followers; the benefits which these received; and the credit and glory which redounded to the chief commander from his success; with the increase of force, and the enlargement of territory, which of course accrued to him from his conquests, soon enabled him to advance that command, which, in its original, seemed to be temporary with regard to all but his own clan, into an hereditary royalty, descending lineally to his children, like the sovereignty of the clan, of which he was the particular chieftain. Thus is it that the kingdom of the *Franks* in *Gaule*, the *Gothic* kingdoms in various parts of *Europe*, and those of the *Saxon Heptarchy* in *England* were formed: and thus I conceive the kingdom of the *Picts* was founded, soon after *A. D.* 360, in proportion as they gained ground in the *Roman* territories. Hence, whatever genealogies are produced of a race or series of princes antecedent to that time, I look upon them only as particular enumerations of the first king's ancestors, as merely chieftains of that clan, which he had a natural right to command, and not as monarchs, ruling over various clans and nations united under their government, in which last sense the style of *king* is now generally understood. As the lands conquered by the *Pictish* kings were of too large extent to be occupied and cultivated only by those of their particular clan, great quantities thereof must necessarily be distributed to other adventurers: and both these sorts of vassals being blended together, so as, after a few generations, to be no longer distinguishable from one another, they became equally obliged to pay to their common sovereign that obedience, which his own clan was always obliged to by the law of nature. Hence, in all appearance, arose that maxim of the law of *England*, as well as *Scotland*, so much insisted on in *Calvin's* case, that there is a *natural allegiance due to the person of a king, succeeding lineally to the crown, by inherent birth-right, and proximity of blood*. Hence likewise, as accessories adopt the nature of the principal, and become subject, from the time of their coalition or incorporation, to the same incidents and modes of conveyance and descent, the *Pictish* kings came to have the same authority over their acquired and adopted vassals, as they had before enjoyed over their natural ones: and the crown, with all its rights and prerogatives, descended lineally to their children in the same regular manner, and the same natural order, as the headship of their particular *clan* had ever used to descend.

WHATEVER rights accrued to them by their conquests over the *Britains*, it cannot be supposed that those victorious monarchs acquired any thereby over other clans, which had formerly been independent, and whose chieftains did not submit to take any share of the conquered lands, to be held on the usual conditions of vassalage. But whether by the younger branches of a chieftain's family taking grants of such lands, and succeeding afterwards, on the extinction of the elder lines, to the headship of the *clan*; or by the necessity of lesser chieftains having recourse, in

A. D. 448. times of distress, to a greater power for support and protection; or by the influence, terror, and force, which a potent monarch may think proper to employ on occasion for the aggrandizing of himself; whether it was by these, or any other means, that the *Pictish* kings came to gain their ends, they drew by degrees all the rest of the clans into the like subjection; in consequence whereof the right, they still retained, of meeting in a general council was exercised afterwards in subordination to their monarchs. This however was a work of time: and I am apt to think, that the clans of the *northern Picts*, inhabiting the countries which lay north of the *Grampian* hills, in the extremity of *Scotland*, preserved their independency for above an hundred years¹ after those of the *southern Picts* had given up theirs; and that it was for this reason they did not receive the *Christian* religion, till more than 150 years after the others. It was the latter only, that were concerned in the reducing of the *Britains*, that lived between the two walls, into subjection to the *Romans*; and so came to be involved immediately in all the consequences of that conquest: one of which was the conversion of the *southern Picts* to *Christianity*.

THIS great change in the religion of that people was brought about by the means of *St. Ninian*, bishop of the *Strath-Cluyd Britains*; whose episcopal see, at first, was *Glasgow*, till he erected a new church at *Whithorn*², and made it the ordinary place of his residence. All writers agree in fixing the time of this conversion to the reign of *Honorius*; when the *Roman* forces being drawn out of *Britain*, the *Picts* were enabled to over-run the country as far as the wall of *Severus*, and to become better acquainted with the religion of the inhabitants, than they had opportunities of being before, whilst divided from them by the *Friths* of *Cluyd* and *Forth*, subject to a different government, and debarred all correspondence with them, except in the way of hostilities, and during the hurry of their transitory incursions and depredations. The learned *Usher* particularly assigns *A. D.* 412, for this conversion; whereas *St. Columba*, the apostle of the *northern Picts*, did not come into *Britain*, in order to convert that nation, till *A. D.* 565. Both these changes, the one in the religion, the other in the government of the *southern Picts*, were very favourable to their views of conquest; the former disposing the *Britains*, who were already *Christians*, to submit the easier to their dominion; the latter uniting their own forces, and enabling them to exert their whole strength, reinforced by that of their allies, under one and the same spirit of direction, in a more regular, constant, uniform, and effectual manner, than was possible to be done, whilst the several clans or tribes of the nation remained in their original independency.

WHILST the *Picts* were thus better qualified, and more bent than ever, to make conquests in the country of the *Britains*, the latter were in a very ill condition to oppose their attempts. The *Romans* had left them forts enough for their security, where they might rendezvous in numbers, and be ready to cut off the straggling parties of the enemy, as opportunities offered; but it was incompatible with their humour, to fill them with garrisons. The *Britains* were, in all ages, much fitter for an attack than defence; they could not bear to be cooped up within walls; they hated sieges, and slighted all manner of fortifications; their woods serving them instead of castles, and morasses being the only entrenchments and ramparts to which they trusted. This humour, which was common to them with the *Irish*³, and still prevails among the Highlanders in *Scotland*, is the reason why their history is so full of the relation of battles, and

¹ They probably preserved it some ages longer; for in the ninth century, the laws of *Kenneth Mac Alpine* treated the defaming of a chieftain of a clan with the same severity, as the defaming of a king; cutting out the tongue being the punishment in both cases. *Concil. Mag. Brit. T. i. p. 179.* ² *Candida Casa*, ³ *Gir. Cambr. Topogr. Hiberniæ, c. 37.*

scarce ever speaks of sieges. They were not only unexperienced in war, destitute of arms, ignorant as well of the fabrick as the use of weapons, but (what was still worse) divided among themselves; without any common or regular chieftain established among them, or any settled method of forming an union, so as to be able to act with a proper concert. By the *Romans* withdrawing their officers and forces, the usual government of *Britain* was dissolved; and the power of the nation naturally reverted to the heirs of the *British chieftains*, who had enjoyed it before the *Roman* conquest. It was difficult to distinguish these, at the distance of so many ages, as had passed since that conquest; at least in the countries, where the *Roman* laws and customs had universally prevailed, and the *Britains* had lived intermixed and intermarrying with the *Romans*. The pretensions of various persons to the headship of particular clans and nations could not fail of producing intestine broils, and of opening a terrible scene of disorder and confusion; whilst each powerful leader was more earnest to make good his private claim, than to oppose the common enemy. It is not unlikely, but the old animosity between the *Belgic* and the *ancient Britains* might revive in this state of *anarchy*; and hinder them from taking measures in concert for their common defence: there will be soon occasion to mention some passages, which favour this notion. The *Romans*, probably as soon as they had reduced the powerful kingdoms of the *Brigantes*, *Iceni*, and *Caturvellauni*, had taken care to extinguish the race of their princes, either by death, or by sending them to *Rome* and the most distant parts of their Empire, in order to prevent all thoughts of insurrections; which the *Britains* would not easily entertain, but under the direction of their natural chieftains. There was only one kingdom, of any considerable force, still subsisting among the old natives, viz. that of the *Strath-Cluyd Britains*, called generally the kingdom of *Cumbria*, after the inhabitants of *Cumberland* and *Westmorland* had, upon the *Romans* quitting the island, put themselves under the protection of the princes of the race of *Coil*; who possessed not only that kingdom (which originally comprehended all the *western Lowlands* of *Scotland*, from *Dunbritton* to *Carlisle*) but also the principality of *North-Wales*, called *Guynedd*, from *Cynedda*, grandson to *Coil*; who, about this time, ¹ drove out the *Irish*, that had, in the weakness of the *Roman* government, seized on the coasts of *North-Wales*. These territories, with the intermediate counties above-mentioned, being, at this time, united under the dominion of ²*Eneon Urdd* (i. e. *the honourable*) son of *Cynedda*, a brave and warlike prince, formed a power too great for the enemy to attack with any hopes of success: nor do any of our ancient writers speak of any invasion of those parts, till this kingdom came, in consequence of the *British* custom of Gavelkind, to be split into the principalities of *North-Wales*, *Cumberland*, and *Galloway*, under so many distinct chieftains, called indifferently either kings or princes.

The rest of *Britain*, rent by intestine factions, which employed their swords against one another, lay exposed an easy prey to the incursions of the *Picts* from the *North*, and ³ of the *Scots* from *Ireland*: who made such terrible havock in the country, that the *Britains* flying to their forests, mountains, and marshes for shelter, the ground remained untilld, and an horrible famine ensued. Taught, by sad experience, the mischiefs of disunion, they made various essays to unite under a common chieftain; setting up several one after another, to whom *Gildas* gives the style of kings (though the *British* word *Rich* denotes a General, or any other Potentate, as well as a monarch) and choosing them not so much for their goodness and virtue, as for their cruel (so perhaps he terms their warlike) disposition. But the heat of parties, and the lust of sovereignty, baffled all these endeavours for an union:

¹ *Append. 1. ad Nennium.*² *Mon. Antiq. p. 146, &c.*³ *Gildas.*

A. D. 448. scarce was one advanced to the supreme command, but he was either assassinated or deposed, to make way for another, who enjoyed his power for as short a while as his predecessor; of so little weight are elections of rulers, in a country divided by factions. Forced at last by unavoidable necessity, the *Britains* sallied out of their fastnesses, fell upon the invaders that were destroying their country, and routed them in several engagements; forcing the *Scots* to return to *Ireland*, whence they soon after renewed their incursions, and the *Picts* to betake themselves to their homes, where they continued afterwards generally quiet, without attempting any new invasions; except now and then, in small parties, for the sake of such depredations, as it is scarce possible to prevent on the borders of two different nations, who have been, for some time, in war with each other. This measure of peace they did not so much enjoy as abuse; for the ground being now tilled, after lying waste for several years, yielded such extraordinary crops of corn, and so amazing a plenty of all things, that the *Britains* abandoned themselves to luxury and riot, minding nothing but the gratifying of their passions, and indulging of the vices, with which all orders of men among them were infected. In the midst of all this jollity and security, they were alarmed with a report, as if their old enemies were preparing for another invasion, with the design of extirpating the natives, and making an entire conquest of their country, in order to settle in it themselves. The *Britains*, ever hasty in their resolutions, and never considering the consequences of any measures proposed for the removing of a present evil, were seized with such a panick, upon hearing this uncertain rumour (for which there appeared no rational grounds, nor was there any author produced) that, being denied succours by the *Romans*, they resolved, with an imprudence not to be matched in history, to call in the *Saxons* to their assistance.

Of the Sax-
ons.

II. THESE were a people, that had for 150 years past frequently infested the coast of *Britain*, and committed great ravages in the country; and it was to oppose their descents, that the *Roman* Emperors, from the time of *Diocletian*, had maintained a considerable military force, under an officer styled *the Count of the Saxon shore in Britain*; which was quartered along the eastern coast in stations erected expressly for that purpose. They still retained in their name some remains of their oriental original, and descent from the *Sacæ*, being probably a tribe of the *Cimmerii* or *Cimbri*, inhabiting the *Cimbric Chersonese*, in the tracts of country since known by the names of *Jutland*, *Angelen*, and *Holstein*; the east of which was more particularly the seat of the *Saxons*, as the others were of the *Jutes* and *Angles*, two tribes, who joined with them in the conquest, and were equally concerned in the peopling, of *Britain* with new inhabitants. The *Jutes* settled chiefly in *Kent*, the *Isle of Wight*, and part of *Hampshire*; the *Saxons* possessed all the other counties which lay south or west of the *Thames*, besides *Essex*, *Middlesex*, and the south parts of *Hertfordshire*; as the *Angles* did all the rest of *England*, as far north as the *Frith of Forth* in *Scotland*. As the *German* and northern nations quitted their ancient seats, about the middle of the third century, in prodigious numbers, in order to fall upon the *Roman* Empire, and seize the provinces which they chose to invade, the *Saxons* extended their settlements along the *Elbe* and *Weser*, and took possession of all the maritime parts, from the mouths of those rivers, to that of the *Ems*; associating or incorporating with themselves the *Chamavi* and other tribes of people, who afterwards passed generally under the common name of *Saxons*. Among these were the *Frisians*, who composed (as *Ubbó Emmius* maintains) the greatest part of those adventurers that followed *Hengist* and *Horja* into

¹ *Rerum Fris. Hist.* l.iii.

Britain; as appears from the greater affinity of the *English* language with the *Friscan*, than with the *Saxon*, or any other *German* dialect. ¹ *Bede* reckons the *Friscans* among the nations from whom the *English* are descended; ² *Procopius* puts them among the inhabitants of *Britain*; and it is certain, that *Wijrid*, *Suidbert*, *Willibord*, and other *English*, who preached the Gospel in *Frizeland*, and converted the inhabitants to *Christianity*, spake the *Friscan* language, as if they had been natives of the country. *Marcellinus*, cotemporary with *Bede*, in his life of *Suidbert*, the first bishop of *Utrecht*, and the annals of *Leyden* attesting this fact, ascribe the original of the *English* equally to the *Friscans* and *Saxons*. To this argument, drawn from the language, may be added another insisted on by Sir *W. Temple*³, and derived from the peculiar constitution and representation of the people of *Frizeland* in their states, so different from what he observed in all other parts of the *United Provinces*, and so agreeable to the method and customs of *England*, that he made from thence the same conclusion, being fully persuaded, that the *Friscans*, from whose ports the passage to *Britain* was easier than from any other belonging to the old *Saxons*, made a principal part of the *Saxon* colonies settled in *England*.

THE *Franks*, who began to be known under that name about the same time with their allies the *Saxons*, were alike composed of different nations, under the same form of a free government. Among these were the *Chauci*, upon whose removal from the coasts of the northern sea, the *Saxons* took possession of those parts; whilst the *Chauci*, advancing with the other *Franks* more within land towards the *Rhine*, about *A. D.* 250, lost their ancient name, and are never mentioned afterwards, but under the general denomination of *Franks*. Their constitution, customs, and manners were so agreeable to those of the *Saxons*, that they might well enough pass for different tribes of the same people: and their language was so little different, that when *Augustine* was sent to convert the *English*, of whose language he was utterly ignorant, *Pope Gregory*⁴ directed him to carry over with him from *Gaule* some *Franks* to be his interpreters. They possessed, in the time of *Carausius*, all the country between the *Saxon* territories, the *Wefer* and the *Rhine*; inhabiting along the banks of this last river to its very mouth, which they commanded by being masters of *Taxandria* and *Holland*; from whence they issued, from time to time, in conjunction with their neighbours the *Saxons*, covering the seas with their fleets, and wasting the coasts of *Gaule* and *Britain*. It was to oppose their depredations, that *Carausius* was made commander of that naval armament, which enabled him to debauch the legion that served for a garrison to *Britain*, and to assume the purple: and it was by their assistance, that he maintained himself for some years in his usurpation. *Constantius Chlorus*, and his son *Constantine the Great*, defeating the *Franks* in several battles, forced them to remove from the mouth of the *Rhine*, higher up the river; but the *Saxons* seem to have taken possession of the countries which they quitted. For in *A. D.* 356, when *Julian* the apostate wanted to bring corn from *Britain*, for supplying the *Roman* armies and garrisons in *Germany*, he was forced to make an accommodation with them, before he could use the *Rhine* for that purpose, or erect his famous magazine at *Britten-buis* for the reception of the necessary provisions. Thus conveniently seated for naval expeditions, they exercised themselves continually in piracies at sea (which were by the *Scandinavians* and maritime *Germans* deemed matters of glory sufficient to immortalize their greatest heroes) and in annoying soon after, in the reign of *Valentinian I.* all the coasts of *Britain*. This practice

¹ *I.* v. c. 9.² *De Bell. Goth.* l. iv.³ *Observ. on the United Provinces.*⁴ *Bede Hist. Eccl.* l. iv. c. 25.

A. D. 448. they continued from that time, through all the succeeding reigns, till they came to settle in *England*.

It doth not appear at what time the *Saxons* took possession of the *Orcades*, which (we learn from *Claudian*) were inhabited by them in the reign of *Honorius*. It is not unreasonable to suppose, that they settled there in the time of the great *Constantine*, or at least in the beginning of the reign of his son *Constantius*; because these isles were all of them, in the time of *Solinus* (who was put to death by the Emperor *Severus*) uninhabited and overgrown with weeds and rushes; and if the *Saxons* had not planted them before the *Scots* were well settled in *Ireland*, they would in all probability have been seized either by that people, or by the *Picts*¹, that followed, and were directed by the *Scots* to sail to the north of *Britain*, to seek an habitation. Whenever it was that the *Saxons* took possession of the *Orkneys*, it is very probable that they planted a colony at the same time in *Cathness*; a country in the northern extremity of *Scotland*; divided from those islands by a narrow strait; affording great plenty of all sorts of corn; abounding in excellent pastures for cattle; and remarkably distinguished in that climate by a temperature of air, as mild as in the middle of *England*. These natural advantages in all appearance engaged that colony to continue there, when their countrymen soon after quitted the settlement they had made in the *Orkneys*, to find a better in the more southern parts of *Britain*, upon the *Saxons* attempting the conquest of this island. It cannot but appear surprizing, that such a colony should subsist for ages, unmixed with any other people, environed by barbarous nations, in a remote corner of the world, and a level country, without any mountains and fastnesses, to serve in any exigence for a refuge to the inhabitants. But if this may be accounted for, either from the condition of the adjoining northern provinces, which in those days were very thinly inhabited, or from the terror of the naval force, and the great power of the *Saxons*; who soon extended their conquests as far north as the *Frith of Forth*, and would not fail to revenge any insult offered to their countrymen, even in the remotest part of *Britain*: It must still appear more wonderful, that these inhabitants of *Cathness* should speak *English* to this very day, and, secluded as they were, by their situation, from correspondence with any nation, but what spoke either the *Earse* or the *British* dialect, should be able to preserve their own, without learning the language of their neighbours; which, I have been assured by gentlemen of undoubted credit, and curious in their observations, is the case of the people of *Cathness*.

Of the Alle-
lujah victory,
and the acts of
St. Germain in
Britain.

III. THE *Saxons* undoubtedly were, in those days, on good terms with the *Picts*, and they frequently joined their forces together, in order to make descents in the southern provinces of *Britain*. Their neighbourhood allowed them to do this with all the convenience that could be desired; as their situation in the *Orcades*, and the north of *Scotland*, favoured their landing on the coast of *Wales*; which could not be so well invaded from *Friseland* and *Germany*, and had been formerly subject only to the depredations of the *Scots* from *Ireland*. It was near *Guid-cruc*² (now *Mold*) in *Flintshire*, where the place of battle is called to this day, *Mac's Garmon*, i. e. the field of *Germain*, that the famous *Allelujah* victory was gained by the *Britains*, under the conduct of St. *Germain*, over the united forces of the *Saxons* and *Picts*; which is referred to by *Gregory the Great* in his *Exposition upon Job*, published before the mission of *Augustine* into *England*. *Gildas*³, a *British* author, who wrote in the sixth century, alludes to this victory, as obtained by the blessing of God, without any human assistance; which sufficiently ap-

¹ *Bede Hist. Eccl. l. i. c. 1.*

² *Usher's Antiq. Brit. p. 179, 180.*

³ *Epist. n. 17, 18.*

appears from the circumstances of the relation: but placeth it after the fruitless application of the *Britains* by letter to *Ætius*, and the famine which afflicted their country, probably at the same time with that which reigned all over the *Roman Empire*, in *A. D.* 446, according to the vulgar æra, but really *A. D.* 448, the very year in which that letter was written. Had this author; instead of a general allusion, made express mention of this victory, I should make no difficulty in fixing the time of it to *A. D.* 447¹, when *St. Germain* came over the second time to *Britain*, or to the week after *Easter* in the year following; later than which it could not happen, because that holy bishop, on his return from thence, set out immediately for *Italy*², and died at *Ravenna* on *July 31*, *A. D.* 448³, thirty years after the death of *Amator*, his predecessor in the see of *Auxerre*.

A. D. 448.

ST. GERMAIN made two journeys into *Britain*; accompanied in the former by *Lupus*, bishop of *Troyes*, and in the latter by *Severus*, bishop of *Treves*: both were undertaken upon account of the *Pelagian* heresy; which, having been suppressed in *Gaule* by the severe execution of the Emperor *Valentinian's* edict in *A. D.* 425, for banishing those who maintained it, seems to have been brought over hither by *Agricola*, son of *Severianus*, a *Pelagian* bishop, and to have made some progress in this island. The *British* clergy, alarmed at such an innovation in doctrine, and unused to the quirks and subtleties with which the artful *Pelagian* endeavoured to colour and support his tenets, sent over to *Gaule*, whence the seducer had been expelled, for assistance against the growing evil, and for some learned men to defend the Catholic doctrine. In compliance with their request, *Germanus* and *Lupus* were, by a council of *Gallican* bishops, deputed to pass over to *Britain* for that purpose: and accordingly arrived there (according to the common opinion) in *A. D.* 429; where, in a full synod, held at *Verolam*, and in a public disputation before a numerous auditory, they drove the *Pelagians* from all their subterfuges, and effectually refuted their errors. ⁴ *Constantius*, a person of great reputation in that age, and though younger than these prelates, yet in his youth cotemporary with both, says, in his *life of St. Germain*, “that having with his colleague, by their preaching, settled the *Britains* in the ancient faith, they proceeded to visit some parts of the country, where, either through gross ignorance, or a wretched carelessness for religion, the people had not been properly instructed in *Christianity*, or at least had not been baptized; and that there they made, by their preaching and miracles, a vast multitude of converts.” These were baptized at the festival of *Easter*, and composed the greatest part of that religious army; which, immediately after their baptism, *St. Germain* drew together to oppose the *Saxons* and *Picts*; who, struck with a sudden panick, were defeated, as hath been already observed⁵.

GILDAS and *Bede* speak of this victory, as one of the last acts of *St. Germain* in *Britain*, and during his last mission: which receives no small confirmation from

¹ *I. e.* of the vulgar æra.

² *Vit. S. Germani.*

³ *Sirmondus* observes, that *Auxiliaris*, whom *St. Germain* visited at *Arles*, in his way to *Italy*, was prefect there *A. D.* 449, and placeth this prelate's death, as *Sigebert* and others do (see *Usher's Antiq. Brit.* p. 204, 205.) in *A. D.* 450. But this may be accounted for by the difference of two years between the vulgar, and the true *Christian* æra: so that *A. D.* 448 of the former is really *A. D.* 450 of the latter computation. It must be observed likewise, that, in the old *Saxon* times, the years assigned for events are generally those of the vulgar æra, and consequently two years earlier than the events really happened.

⁴ *Sidon. Apoll. l. ix. Ep. 16.*

⁵ This is related by *Constantius*, in the course of his narration of what passed in that noble and pious bishop's first voyage to *Britain*: and it is upon his authority alone (for *Jerric*, and others writers who agree with him, take their accounts from his relation) that the *Alleluiah* victory hath been generally thought to have happened at that time; notwithstanding it is placed so many years before the arrival of *Hengist* with his *Saxons*. This indeed is no weighty objection, since that people had been used for a much longer space of time to make descents in *Britain*: but there are other circumstances and reasons for fixing it to the time of his second mission; which do not admit so easy a so-

what

A. D. 448. what *St. Germain* is, by the ancient register of *Landaff*, called the book of *St. Theliau*¹ (agreeable to the testimony of other ancient writers, allowed generally by our best antiquaries and critics) said to have done in *Britain*: and which, though a work that required some time for its perfecting, seems, from the circumstances thereof, to be incompatible with that of his first mission. Such, to say nothing of his introducing the *Gallican* liturgy² into the use of *British* churches, was his institution of schools of learning among the *Britains*; his consecrating bishops in several places, and making *Dubricius* archbishop of *South-Wales*. In the flourishing times of the *Roman* Empire, great care was taken for the encouragement of learning, especially in greater cities. ³ *Constantine the Great*, out of his particular regard for men of learning, granted ample privileges and large salaries to the professors of it in the several cities of the Empire. The school at *Rome* was so particularly the care of the Emperors⁴, that they condescended to establish proper regulations for it, and to take cognizance of the numbers, qualities, and behaviour of the students, who resorted thither from all parts of the Empire: and the reputation thereof was so great, that it was the occasion of the frequent applications made, in cases that required advice and instruction, by remote churches, where knowledge was less general, to *Rome*, as *the most eminent seat of learning*; and which have been since perverted by the abettors of the papal power, to countenance their modern pretences of its being done, as to *the principal seat of authority*. ⁵ *Gratian*, by an edict directed to the præfect of *Gaule*, required all the chief cities in his diocese, which comprehended all the western parts of the Empire, particularly *Britain*, to settle and maintain professors of learning, both of the *Greek* and *Roman* languages. The usurpations of *Maximus*, and others which commenced soon after; the withdrawing the *Roman* forces; the precarious state of their authority, which followed those events, and lasted till its utter extinction; the troubles and confusion which reigned in *Britain* from the time of the first of those usurpations, probably hindered this island from receiving the benefit of that edict: and this might be the reason why the *British* bishops applied the first time to *Gaule* for help against the *Pelagians*; and why, notwithstanding those heretics being so publicly refuted by *St. Germain*, they were forced, in so short a time, to recal him to confute them again, and stop the progress they had made in his absence. It was likewise this want of schools in the mountainous parts of *Wales*, which occasioned such a general igno-

lution. It must be observed that *Constantius* doth not affix any year for *St. Germain's* first mission, and *A. D.* 429 is assigned for it, in consequence of what is said of *Lupus*, by the unknown author of his life, but chiefly on the credit of *Prosper's Chronicle*, a work of which there is no genuine copy, and consequently of very dubious authority. *Constantius* speaks of the two missions in such a manner, as to represent them following the one presently after the other: and he says so little of the latter, that it looks as if he had put all that passed material in both, into the account which he gives of the former. This appears further from what he says of *St. Genievieve*, whom he represents as a mere girl at the time of *St. Germain's* voyage, and as just entering her *adolescentia* (which was usually reckoned, except in the imperial race, to begin at the age of sixteen) when he went the second time to *Britain*: for if she died *A. D.* 513, as *M. Westminster* says, and was then eighty, as is said at the end of her life, she was not born at the time of *St. Germain's* first voyage, if it be fixed to *A. D.* 429, whereas, by assigning *A. D.* 433 for the year of her nativity, and *A. D.* 446 for that of

St. Germain's first mission, and *A. D.* 449 for his second, she might be justly styled in the former *puella*, and in the latter *adolescentula*, as she is accordingly by *Constantius*. *Bede*², who copies from this *Biographer* what he relates of the *Alleluiah* victory, represents it in his *Chronicle*, as the last act of *St. Germain* before he quitted *Britain*, in order to go to *Ravenna*, where he died. *Paulus Diaconus*, *Ado*, *Freculphus*, and other chronographers place it about the same time. *Gillius* hath been already mentioned as favouring this opinion, and as the greatest deference is due to the testimony of a learned *Briton* bred up under *Illutus*, and writing of the affairs of his own country, it was very probably his authority which influenced *Bede*, when he was in his *Chronicle* to deliver his judgment as to the time of this victory (a particular in which *Constantius*, from whom he borrowed all the other circumstances of the relation, is deficient) to fix it so late as the year of *St. Germain's* decease.

¹ *Usher du Primord.* p. 343. ² *Stillingsf. Orig. Brit.* c. 4. p. 202, &c. ³ *C. Theod.* xiii. Tit. iii. l. i. 1, 2, 3. ⁴ *Ib.* l. xiv. Tit. ix. l. i. *A. D.* 379. ⁵ *Ib.* xiii. Tit. iii. l. ii.

rance of *Christianity* among the inhabitants, that vast numbers of them stood in need of being instructed and baptized by that apostolical prelate and his companions; as we may reasonably infer from the observation made by *Julian*¹ the apostate, that the *Christian* religion spread, in proportion as learning was propagated by means of those schools; for which reason he reserved the approbation of all the public professors to himself.

ST. GERMAIN, at his second mission, to do a work over again, which he seemed to have compleated effectually in his first, could not help either reflecting on the causes of the sudden relapse of the *Britains* into *Pelagianism*, or discovering, that it was owing to a defect of learning, and to the want of schools for the education of the *British* clergy: and it was for this reason, as *Bollandus* and *Henschenius* think, that he instituted schools² of learning among the *Britains*; by which means *these churches* (as *Bede*³ observes) *continued afterwards pure in the faith, and free from heresy*. *Wales* was the country which most wanted his care in this respect; it was there he passed the greatest part of the time he staid in *Britain*: and from thence, at his departure, he carried over with him into *Gaule* St. *Brioc*⁴ a young gentleman, son of a nobleman of *Cardiganshire*; who, after a course of instruction and study in the bishop's seminary at *Auxerre*, returned home, converted his parents and relations, who were as yet pagans, and, passing afterwards into *Armorica*, was the first bishop of *St. Brieu*, which was erected into a see, and endowed by *Conan* count of *Treguier*, his relation and convert. For the more effectual propagation of the Gospel, and advancement of learning in *South-Wales*, St. *Germain* ordained *Illutus*, then very young, a presbyter, and consecrated *Dubricius*, archbishop of *Landaff*; charging them with the care of several schools or colleges; which soon grew famous for the numbers, learning, and merit of the persons there educated. Two of these schools, under the immediate direction of the latter, were seated at *Hentlan* and *Moch-rhos*, places lying upon the *Wye*, where persons of all ranks and orders resorting to him from every part of *Britain*, he had a thousand scholars with him for years together; the names of the most eminent of which are mentioned in the life of *Dubricius*⁵, wrote (as some maintain) by his successor St. *Theliau*'s own hand, in the ancient *Landaff* register; which mentions another particular, too curious and

¹ *Ib.* l. v.

² *Act. Sanct.* Feb. ix. *in vita S. Teliai.*

³ *H. E.* l. i. c. 21.

⁴ In the life of St. *Brioc* (published by *Andrew Saussage*, in *Martyrol. Gallic* Apr. 30.) he is said to be a *Britain* of a noble family in *Provincia Corticana*, which *Camden*, and after him *Usher*, *Antiq. Brit.* p. 184, mistake for the county of *Corke* in *Ireland*; though St. *Germain* never was in that island, and it is said in the very passage quoted, that he took this young gentleman away with him, whilst he was preaching the Gospel in the said province, which I take to be *Cardiganshire*. I am apt to think St. *Germain* was the founder of the bishopricks of *Wales*, properly so called, which till his time was much over-run with paganism; and *Dubritius*, whom he consecrated bishop of *Landaff*, is universally allowed to be the first bishop of that see. There might indeed very well be a bishop of *Caerlon* earlier; but his care was principally employed about those parts of the *Roman* province which afterwards formed the dioceses of *Hereford* and *Worcester*. It was necessary to take more care, than had yet been done for propagating the faith in *South-Wales*; in parts where the *Romans* had scarce any settlement: and for this reason probably St. *Germain* fixed the see of *Dubritius* at *Landaff*;

which diocese extending at first over all *South-Wales*, there were, as converts multiplied, two others taken out of it, viz. *Llan-badern-vawr* and *St. Davids*, to which the archiepiscopal dignity was annexed, on account perhaps of its first bishop's extraordinary merit. That there was occasion enough for St. *Germain*'s going into *Cardiganshire* to plant the *Christian* faith, appears plainly from the ill character, the heathenism, the cruel, violent, and persecuting spirit, ascribed by all the writers of St. *Patrick*'s lives to the prince of that country; for such I conceive the *British* prince to have been, whose name is spelt *Coroticus*, to whom St. *Patrick* wrote an Epistle which is still preserved. The mistake of a letter, as of an *o* for an *e*, is so common in transcribing names out of old manuscripts, that I make no difficulty in concluding him to be either so called, as being prince of that country; or that he was the *Ceretus* or *Ceretiens*, the chieftain from whom that county is by several ancient writers said to be named *Ceretica*; with which the time wherein he lived very well agrees. Accordingly I take the province *Corticana* to be wrote so by mistake, instead of *Coriticana*, and to be the same which hath been since spelt *Coreticana*, now *Cardiganshire*, in *Latin*, *Ceretica*.

⁵ *Stillingsf. Orig. Brit.* p. 349.

A. D. 448. important to be omitted, because it relates to the constitution of *Britain* in those early ages. It says, that on occasion of the founding of that see, the lands, with which it was endowed, were given to *Dubricius* in a *general council* of the nation by *Mouric* I. king or prince of *Glamorgan*, with the consent of the *princes*, or chief nobility, *clergy*, and *laity*: and it was in such *general councils*, that the like grants to that church were constantly made, from that time, down to the *Norman* conquest; a great number of which are duly entered in the said register, and several of them may be seen in *Godwin De præfulibus Angliæ*.

THE schools of *Iltutus*, either at *Llan-iltut* (now *Lantwit*) near *Boverton*, or at *Llan-elty* near *Ncath* in *Glamorgan*, were in the like repute, and filled with the sons of the nobility. Some of his disciples were, the famous *Gildas*, *St. Leonorius* bishop and confessor, *Samson* archbishop of *Dol* in *Bretagne*, *St. Magloire* cousin-german and successor to *Samson* in that see: *Macutus* or *Maclovius* equally related to the same *Samson*, and the first bishop of *St. Malo*; *Paul Aurclian*, and *Daniel*, the former bishop of *St. Pol de Leon*, and the latter consecrated by *Dubricius*, and made bishop of *Bangor*, where he instituted likewise a seminary for the *Britains*. *Paulinus*, another disciple of *St. German*, did the like at *Whiteland* in *Caermarthenshire*; where *St. David* studied under him for ten years, as well as *St. Theliau*, who succeeded *Dubricius* in the see of *Landaff*. These and other seminaries spread through *Wales*; such as that of *Lancarvan* near *Cowbridge*, and the famous one of *Banchor* in *Flintshire*, were noble monuments of the particular care which *St. Germain* took of the churches in that part of *Britain*: and they carry with them as well such a notoriety in their nature, as such lasting benefits in their effects, that there is no room to doubt of these facts, which are attested by many ancient writers, and universally admitted by the learned criticks and antiquaries of later ages. But if these facts, particularly the ordinations of *Dubricius* and *Iltutus*, be put among the acts of *St. Germain*, during his first mission in *Britain*, and this be fixed to *A. D.* 429, they seem scarce reconcileable with the age either of the former, who consecrated *Daniel*, bishop of *Bangor*, *A. D.* 516, and was living *A. D.* 519, when, upon his resignation, *St. David* was declared primate of *Wales*, in the synod of *Llan-Dewy-Brevy*, or at least of the latter, who lived till near the end of king *Arthur's* reign, not dying, as some say, in *A. D.* 527, but, according to the learned *Usher*, *A. D.* 540. It is for this reason that I think the *Alleluiah* victory over the *Saxons* and *Picts*, as well as the other acts of *St. Germain* in *Wales*, are to be placed among the transactions that passed in the time of his second mission: and it is observable, that till after *A. D.* 448 there is not any school, seminary, or monastery in that country mentioned in any of the *Lives* of *British* saints that lived in those times; great numbers of which are still preserved. To supply this defect, such *Britains*, as between the years 431 and 448 were desirous to be instructed in religion and learning, went into *Ireland* to study under *St. Patrick*; as is particularly remarked of *St. Canoc*², and his eleven brothers, the sons of *Brachan*, king of *Brecknock*; *St. Winwaloc*, and others. These circumstances afford such objections to the general opinion in relation to the time of *St. Germain's* first mission, and the transactions said to have passed therein, that they cannot be reconciled to it, but by supposing it to have been in *A. D.* 446, as *Matthew* of *Westminster* doth, and is therein followed by the late editor of the *Councils of Great Britain and Ireland*.!

Condition of the *Britains*, when the *Saxons* were invited over.

IV. HAD the *Britains* been united among themselves, and made a right use of *St. Germain's* victory and of those which they had gained under the command of other leaders, they would, in all probability, have soon seen an end of their trou-

¹ *Index Chronol. ad calcem. Antiq. Brit.*

² *In vitis S. Canoci, S. Winwaloci, et S. Dubani.*

bles: and might have found a favourable opportunity for correcting the disorders of their government, and for establishing their constitution on a wise and lasting foundation. Their enemies had experienced their valour, and were made sensible that they could no longer ravage the country with impunity: the original cause of their animosity, arising from the *Roman* encroachments and views of conquest, was now removed; and they might have lived, in a short time, as neighbourly with the other *Britains*, as they did with the *Strath-Clwyd*. They were humanizing likewise in their temper, and falling into a more civilized and quiet manner of life, by degrees as *Christianity* was gaining ground among them, and the belief of its doctrines influenced their conduct. *Gildas* accordingly assures us of the *Picts*, that they lived afterwards very quiet, and never made any general invasion of *Britain*; the inhabitants whereof were no way molested, except now and then by some depredations of private robbers on their borders. Nor was the behaviour of the *Scots* much different; the preaching of *St. Patrick* and his companions having, by this time, made a considerable progress in turning the minds of that people to religion, and taking them off from their roving and plundering dispositions: but, whether owing to this or any other reason, it was in this juncture that happened the last descent of theirs upon the *British* coasts, of which we have any authentic relation. *Sirigi*, styled the *rover*, a chieftain of the *Irish Picts* or *Crutheni* in *Ulster*, landing in *Anglesey*, routed the inhabitants at a place called *Cerrig-y-Gwyddel*¹, and seemed, by the cabins he erected, inclined to settle in the island. *Eneon Urdd*, king of *Cumberland*, and sovereign of *North-Wales*, sending his eldest son *Caswallon-law-hir* to clear the country of the enemy, this young and gallant prince, coming up with *Sirigi* at *Llan-y-Gwyddel* (now *Holy-head*) where the *Irish* fleet lay, slew him with his own hand, routed his forces, and drove them entirely out of *Anglesey*². *Caswallon* was so pleased with the situation and natural advantages of the island, that, leaving the succession of *Cumberland* to a younger brother, he chose *North-Wales* for his share of *Eneon's* dominions, and fixed his seat in *Anglesey*; where the ruins of his palace, called, to this day *Llys Caswallon*, i. e. the abode of *Caswallon*, are still to be seen near *Llan-Elan*; and the judicious *Mr. Rowlands* adds to this account, that he had in his custody the copy of a charter of lands and immunities, granted by him, about *A. D.* 450, to *St. Elan*³ (the founder of the church) and his successors, and confirmed to the owners of the lands by the kings of *England*, who generally recited former grants in their charters of confirmation.

THE *Britains* were thus on the point of enjoying their possessions in a state of peace and tranquillity, undisturbed by any foreign invader; when, running into a real evil, in hopes of avoiding one that was purely imaginary, they took a step which brought a sudden ruin upon themselves and their posterity. This was owing to certain moral defects in their character; for which they have in all ages been remarkable, and of which there is too much reason to apprehend, they are never to be cured by any experience. Ever hasty in their tempers, sudden in their resolves, impetuous in their motions, impatient under either the pressure or the dread of any evil, taken up with the present object that fills their minds, and thoughtless of any future consequences; they have always been ready to embark in any measures proposed by designing men for their own ends, if glossed over in such

¹ I. e. the *Irishmen's* cottages.

² He seems likewise to have driven those *Irish Scots* out of *Pembrokeshire*; for they were doubtless those *quidam populi de Scythia* (qui sine a pictis vestibus, sine propter colorum stigmata *Picti* dicebantur) innumera classe *Britanniam* devenerunt, and wasting the sea coast, seized the town of *St. David's*, when *St. Teliaw* and *St. David* were as yet

pueri, and at school in that country. *Vita S. Teliavi in registro Landav.* p. 126. & seq. *Nennius*, c. 8. speaks of these invaders of *South-Wales*, as being *Scots* of the clan of *Lirchon*.

³ *Mona Antiq.* 142, 146.

A. D. 448. a manner as to flatter them with any hopes of immediate relief. That eagerness, which appears in them when they are to remove a grievance which they feel, or to guard against one that they barely apprehend, turns to violence when the question is of taking revenge for one that is already past; and in all these cases, history affords us abundance of instances, wherein they have taken steps, and created precedents, which have exposed their liberties to the utmost danger, and their country to utter ruin. This unhappy temper, so inconsistent with true wisdom, which is ever cool and unpassionate when she takes a resolution, and never forms any but after considering things in all their consequences, striking in with that excessive and senseless credulity, to which all the *Celtic* people were naturally subject and habitually given, disposed the *Britains* to be the *dupes* of that crafty and ambitious tyrant, whom *Gildas* represents as the chief instrument of his country's ruin, and whose character, as well as circumstances, it is necessary to explain.

THERE WAS at this time (as hath been already observed) but one kingdom of any considerable force among the *Britains*; the foundation whereof was laid in the *Roman* times, upon the emperor *Adrian's* withdrawing his garrisons from *Agricola's prætentura* between the *Friths* of *Cluyd* and *Forth* to the *Vallum* which he raised between *Solway Frith* and the mouth of the *Tyne*. This kingdom of the *Strath-Cluyd Britains* (as it hath been commonly called) had afterwards increased much in power by the union of *North-Wales*, upon *Coil's* marrying the heiress of that principality, and by the accession of the intermediate countries lying on the *Irish* channel; which, upon the *Romans* quitting *Britain*, had put themselves under the protection of the *Strath-Cluyd* princes. All these territories were now united under *Encon Urdd*; but this union continued no longer than his life; and his dominions, being divided among his posterity, formed afterwards the principalities of *North-Wales*, *Cumberland*, and *Galloway*. This division was a necessary effect of the custom of *Gavelkind* the ancient common law, or constitution of the *Britains* in the great point of succession to estates, requiring them to be equally divided between the male children of the proprietor; with this only difference, that the younger held their shares under the eldest; to whom the superiority was always reserved¹. This rule was invariably observed with regard to the inheritance of princes, as well as of private persons; and was the source of infinite mischiefs, not only by reducing the power of a monarchy, till by successive divisions it dwindled almost to nothing; but chiefly by furnishing perpetual occasions for those civil wars, to which *Gildas* ascribes the ruin of *Britain* and the conquest of it by the *Saxons*; as later writers do, the reduction of *Wales* under the dominion of the kings of *England*.

THE rest of *Britain* was filled with an unconceivable number of little princes², or heads of *clans*, who were in those days dignified by writers with the pompous title of Kings, though their territories were seldom so large as an ordinary shire, and never perhaps of greater extent; except in the instance of the *Dummonii*, who,

¹ Of this we have two remarkable instances in the lives of *St. Gundleus* and *St. Cadoc*, kings about this very time, one after another, in *South-Wales*. With regard to the former, the words of *John de Tinmouth* are these. *S. Gundleus filius regis Australium Britonum extitit, & post mortem patris, regno in septem partes diviso, sex ejus fratres portiones suas acceperunt & ipsi quasi seniori in omnibus parebant*: When *Gundleus* retired to a monastery, and resigned his kingdom to his son *Cadoc*, there was a like division; for it is said that *Cadoc* possessed only a portion of his father's king-

dom; which enabled him, when he charged himself with the presidency of the seminary of *Lancarvan*, to supply the poor scholars with all necessaries. See *Usher's Ant. Brit.* p. 248.

² *J. Timmouth*, in the life of *St. Ninian*, who converted the *Picts*, as soon as the *Romans* had quitted the north of *England*, on occasion of the opposition that saint met with from a king in that country named *Tudwald*, observes, that all *Britain* was under such little princes; *rota insula diversis regibus divisa subjacuit*. See *Usher's Ant. Brit.* c. 15. p. 347.

having been less intermixed with the *Romans*, and suffered fewer alterations in their original customs and constitution by the laws and police of the Empire, than any other people of this island, reverted easily to their pristine state; and, possessing the same provinces of *Cornwall*, *Devon*, and the adjoining parts of *Somerset*, as they had inhabited before the *Roman* invasion, formed a powerful principality, which under the government of a race of chieftains, styled usually princes and dukes of *Cornwall*, continued unimpaired all the time of the *Saxon* heptarchy, and was not entirely reduced till the *Norman* conquest¹. Thus *Me-luas*² was king of the marshy parts of *Somerset* that lay about *Glastenbury* and on the *Severn* sea; and I take the famous *Ambrosius* to have been prince of *Wilt*s (where the place of his residence, called of old *Urbs Ambrosii*, now *Ambresbury*, is situated) and perhaps of the adjoining county of *Hants*; for it was in these parts that he opposed *Cerdic*, and, upon their being reduced by that *Saxon* prince, his degenerate descendants sunk to the condition of private men, in which they remained at the time when *Gildas* wrote his *Epistle*. The conquests of the *Saxons* put an end, in those parts where they founded kingdoms, to all learning among the *Britains*; and the *Saxon* annalists, intent upon preserving some short memorials of their own affairs, take no notice at all of the *British*; so that we are left entirely in the dark as to the police and condition of the *Britains* in those parts before they were subdued; though, from what hath been said of their custom of *Gavelkind*, there is little doubt to be made, but that they were much in the same state, and divided into the like petty chieftaineries, as we find them to have been in *Wales*. The *Welsh* writers, though not very distinct in their accounts, nor writing professedly on the subject, do yet furnish us hints enough to assure us of this fact; and that most of their countries and lesser divisions of provinces derived their names about this time from the chieftains to whom they belonged; as it is well known the like tracts of land in *Ireland* were, from the names of the heads of their septs, denominated the countries of the *O-neiles*, *O-connels*, *O-moors*, *O-byrnes*, &c. Thus *North-Wales* was called *Gwyneth*, from *Cunedba* or *Cunetha* surnamed *W'ledig*; “the princes of whose family³ made, for many “ages, a noble stand against the *Saxons* in different parts of *Britain*; and whose “victorious sons, coming to be possessed of several *Cantrev's* in that principality, “left their names on them to this day;” though these separate precincts had undoubtedly passed by other names before they came into their possession. Thus the shire of *Merioneth*, anciently *Meraonia*, was denominated from his grandson *Meraon*⁴; *Glewyssig* a country between the rivers *Uske* and *Rumney* in *Monmouthshire*, was so called from *Gliwifus*, who was prince of it, and father to *St. Gundleus* or *Gunlyn*, from whom the tract of it which fell to his share was called *Gunlywau*, as the other six portions thereof were denominated also from his brothers who possessed them. *Gwlad-Morgan*⁵, now *Glamorgan*, of which *Mouric* was king, when *Dubricius* was promoted to the see of *Landaff*, appears from its very name, signifying the country of *Morgan*, to have been so called from one of its princes of that name; which still prevails so generally in those parts, notwithstanding many ages have passed since the *Norman* conquest, that it seems to have been the name of a mighty clan, to which it was once common, whilst under the peculiar dominion of those princes. The kings of *Gwent* or *Monmouthshire* are mentioned on various occasions: and *Pepiau*⁶ father to *Dubricius* was king of *Erchyng*, a tract of country in *Herefordshire* now called *Irchen-*

A. D. 448.

¹ They kept their old *Celtic* dialect in *Cornwall* till the time of *Q. Elizabeth*. See *Camden's Britannica*, Ed. 1723. t. i. p. 44.

² In *Vit. Gildas*.

³ *Mon. Ant.* p. 117. 146.

⁴ *Vit. S. Gundlei* in *Bibl. Cotton. Vespasian*, A. xiv. 3.

⁵ *Gir. Cambr. Itin. Camb.* l. ii. c. 5.

⁶ *Registr. Landav.* p. 92. *Chron. Warwic.* *Usher's Ant. Brit.* p. 238.

A. D. 448. *field.* *Catbwallain*¹ was king of *Denbighshire* in the time of *St. David* and *St. Kentigern*, as *Trifunus*² was of *Pepidiauc* a centred of *Pembrokeshire*, when *Gildas*, who was cotemporary with the others, preached in that country. *Xanthus*³ father of *St. David* was king of *Cardiganshire*, and son of *Ceretus* or *Cereticus*, who was likewise king of that country, and from whom it derived the name of *Ceretica*. *Cadel* was about the same time king of *Powisland*: and *Brachan*⁴, king of *Brecknockshire*, in right of his mother *Marcella*, daughter of *Theodore ap Tethphalt*, caused the name of that county to be changed from *Garth Mathrin* to *Brecheiniauc* or *Breconia*.

ADJOINING to this last principality lay the territory of *Vortigern*; such was the name⁵ of the tyrant or usurper mentioned by *Gildas*: he was a chieftain among the *Silures*, and his clan seem to have inhabited the country now called *Radnorshire*⁶. Here it is, that *Nennius* placeth the territory called *Guortigern-maur*; here stood the city called from him *Caer-Guortigern*, out of the ruins of which arose the castle of *Gurthremion*: to a wilderness in this county was it that *Vortigern* retired for refuge, after he had incensed the *Britains*, by betraying their country to the *Saxons*⁷; and here likewise, as is generally agreed, *Pascentius*, after his father's death, possessed the regions of *Buel* and *Guorthigurniaun*. These seem to have been all the territories which originally belonged to *Vortigern*, and which his posterity enjoyed in the time of *Nennius*: it is certain he had no other in *Wales*; nor is there any reason to think he ever had the property of any other in the rest of *Britain*; or indeed any command, but what was given him by the consent of the several princes of this country, to exercise under the title of *General*⁸, rather than of *monarch*. He is generally allowed to have been an active, enterprising, crafty, and ambitious prince: the barren and mountainous country, of which he was Lord, naturally inured him to hardships; and formed him for war, like his ancestors, who had so bravely opposed the *Romans* in former ages. The invasions of the *Scots* and *Picts* furnished him with opportunities of exerting his warlike genius, and improving his talents for military affairs: and having probably distinguished himself in some successful engagements with the enemy, he was chosen commander in chief of all the forces in *Britain*. The chronology, at the end of *Nennius*, dates the commencement of his authority about *A. D. 427*, three years before *Taurus* and *Felix* were consuls, but whenever he entered upon a charge, which, among the *Gaules*, and *Old Britains*, was, in a time of war, attended with powers little less than absolute, he had learned, by the unhappy fate of several of his predecessors in it, who had been murdered or deposed, that the enjoyment thereof was very precarious. His interest seems to have lain among the *Old Britains*, as well those of the *Roman* province, on the borders of which his territories were situated, as the *Silures*, and others, who lived in *Wales* beyond all the stations of the *Romans*, and whose reputation for war might make the others think it necessary to engage their assistance. But he was probably jealous of the *Belgic Britains*; as seems insinuated by *Nennius*, in representing him jealous of the *Roman* interest; which⁹ at this time could be only that of the *Britains*, ever attached to the *Romans*,

¹ *Ib.* p. 292. ² *Ib.* p. 237. & in *vita Gildæ*.

³ *Ib.* in *vita S. Davidis*, *vita S. Carantor*.

⁴ *Gir. Cambr. Itin.* *Cambr.* l. i. c. 2.

⁵ His name in *Welsh* was *Gwrtheyrn*, as he is called in the *Annales Menevenses*, and the *British* history, which signifies, *Vir princeps* or *Vir potens* from *Gwr*, *vir*, and *Teyrn*, *princeps*, *potens*. See *Dr. Davis's Dictionary*.

⁶ *Cambr. Brit. RADNORSHIRE.* *Bede's App.* n. 3.

⁷ *Usher's Antiq. Brit.* p. 244.

⁸ So *Gildas*, c. 23. calls him only *Britannorum dux*.

⁹ *Prosper* calls *Britain*, *Romana insula*; those parts of it, which spake the language of the *Romans* (which perhaps had in some places extinguished the *British*) and conformed to their customs, were called *Romania*, those which did not were termed, *Barbaria*; in which sense these words are used by *Venantius Fortunatus*. So *Gildas*, n. 5. Solo nomen *Romanæ* servitutis hæsit, ita ut non *Britannia* sed *Romania* censeretur. And n. 10. *Insula nomen Romanum tenent*. A law is said to be made by *Antoninus Caracalla*, to oblige all the subjects of the Empire to be called *Romans*. The *Roman* language and

and of *Ambrosius*, who was neither of an age, nor in a condition, at that time, to dispute with him the post of supreme commander. To guard against any danger from that quarter, and to have an army of auxiliaries ready to support him on all occasions, he resolved to invite over a body of foreign forces, and to place them in such a situation, as might enable them as well to curb the *Belgic Britains*, as to march in any exigence to his own assistance. A step so odious in its nature could not be taken, nor even attempted, without some plausible pretence: and the rumour of a new invasion by the *Scots* and *Picts*, with a formed design of extirpating the *British* nations, and planting the island with their own people, served admirably for that purpose. It was dangerous for *Vertigern* to attempt this by his own authority, which, great as it was, could not yet empower him to bring foreigners into the country, and put them in possession of the lands of the natives: he was therefore obliged to call a *general council* of all the princes and chieftains of *Britain*, to consider of proper measures to be taken for their defence in a case of such extremity. It is no difficult matter for an artful prince, presiding in an assembly of men frightened out of their senses, though they know not why, to work up their fears to what height he pleaseth; and to bring them into the most irrational and destructive measures, that his own views shall put him upon recommending. They could not have resolved on any more fatal to their posterity and their country, than they did, in agreeing to call over the *Saxons*; an heathen nation, who hated their religion, and whose cruel ravages they had for some generations felt on their coasts; and to receive them, as it were, into their own bowels, by assigning them the *Isle of Thanet* for their habitation.

A. D. 448.

VARIOUS are the sentiments of different authors with regard to the year in which the *Saxons* first came over to settle in *Thanet*: nor is there any thing strange in this diversity of opinions, since, without a fixed and certain measure of time, all chronology must be as uncertain as the *Greek* history is before the æra of the Olympiads. The computation of time from the year of our Lord was first proposed by *Dionysius Exiguus*, A. D. 525, when he wrote his first Epistle to *Petrinus*: but though it might be adopted from that time by some persons in their private use, it was not publickly received in *Europe* till the reign of *Charle Magne*, nor here till the time of *Bede*, or the latter end of the seventh century. In times more ancient, the best rule that writers had to follow was the *Fasti consulares*, and the years of the *Roman* Emperors: but on the fall of the Empire, and in a corner of the world so remote from *Rome* as *Britain*, it was no easy matter to be exact in

The *Saxons* land and form several kingdoms.

was not spoke, nor did their laws and usages prevail either in *Wales* or *Scotland*, nor probably in some of the wild, mountainous, and marshy parts of *England*; where there was no commerce, and the people lived after the *Old British* fashion: but about *London*, and all over the west, where the *Belgic* colonies, ever employed in trade, inhabited, the *Roman* language and manners were universally adopted; and these *Belgic Britains* might well enough be taken by *Nennius* for the *gens Romana*, mentioned by *Gildas*. I take this to be the ordinary language of that age, in the like cases. Thus when *Clowis* entered *France* A. D. 486, ten years after the *Roman* western Empire had been destroyed, and *Rome* itself had been in the possession of the *Heruli*; the *Gauls*, who having not been subdued by the *Goths* and *Burgundians*, had set up for themselves under *Ægidius* and *Syagrius*, their countrymen, and not of *Roman* race, are styled *Romans*: and in *Armorica*, the old

Gaulic inhabitants of that province, which had so long withdrawn themselves from the imperial dominion, that probably there was not a *Roman* amongst them, are yet called *Romans*, so late as the second council of *Tours*; where for securing the rights of the archbishops of *Tours*, who had always been primates there, till the *Britains* settled in that country, it is provided, *nequis Britannum aut Romanum in Armorica sine metropolitani aut comprovincialium voluntate vel literis Episcopum ordinare præsumat*. So in the laws of the *Visigoths*, l. x. tit. viii. the *Gauls* that inhabited the provinces south of the *Loire* are called *Romans*: and by the same in *Hist. Eccl.* l. i. c. 26, 33. *Bede*, I am persuaded, means the *Britains*, because *St. Martin* not dying till A. D. 400, it is not likely that a church should be built and dedicated to him before the *Roman* forces were withdrawn from *Britain*.

¹ *Gildas*.¹ See *Usher's Antiq. Brit.* c. 12. p. 220. and c. 16. p. 416.

A. D. 448. either of those points; so that the most judicious authors, writing of those times, chose rather to mention things as happening in the reign, than in any particular year, of an Emperor. With regard therefore to the time of the *Saxons* coming over, we can only judge from the order of events, and such chronological marks, taken from the consuls or Emperors, as are given us by historians, who are most distinguished by their care, judgment, and abilities, and had the best opportunities of knowing the truth of what they relate: such I take *Bede* and *Gildas* to be in this case: and as they both assure us, that the *Saxons* were not invited over till after the *Romans* had refused their assistance, till after *A. D. 448*, when *Ætius* and *Symmachus* were consuls, this cuts off at once all those computations which fix their arrival earlier. The former ¹ likewise says, it was a few years after *St. Germain's* coming into *Britain*, which he quitted in the spring of *A. D. 448*; so that there is no fixing the arrival of the *Saxons* earlier than *A. D. 449*: which is indeed the year assigned for it by the *Saxon Chronicle*, by *Fabius Etbelwerdus*, *Malmesbury*, *Huntingdon*, and the generality of our historians. But I have already shewn in the instance of *St. Alban's* martyrdom, that, in those early times, the *Saxon Chronicle* placeth events three years earlier than they really happened: and *Bede* being a more ancient authority than any of them, it is reasonable to think that all those writers were led into this chronological error by mistaking the sense of a passage in his history. He says, that the Emperor *Martian*² began his reign *A. D. 449*, but doth not say, that the *Saxons* arrived here that year; nor doth he mention the time of this event more particularly, than by placing it in some of the years of his reign; whilst he governed the Empire jointly with *Valentinian*, who died *A. D. 457*. The *Christian* æra was not then, at its first coming into use, so well understood as it hath been since: and *Bede* might easily mistake *A. D. 449* for the first year of *Marcian*; though it is now no longer doubted, that this Emperor did not begin his reign till *A. D. 452*, when *Valentinian* and *Avienus* were consuls; the very year which *Florence of Worcester* and *John Pike*³ assign for the arrival of the *Saxons*. It could not be earlier according to *Bede*: and it is fixed two years later by the *Chronicle* of *John Clinn*⁴, and the *Annals of the church of St. Trinity, Dublin*; which last opinion hath the advantage of being supported by the learned *Usher's* approbation.

THE *Saxons* were a state composed of different people and of a vast number of independent clans; all passing upon their coalition or association, by the same general name; agreeing in the same customs and usages; and united together under the same form of polity and government. They were subject to no monarch or single superior (except, when in the field, to a General chosen by common consent to command on particular occasions) till after they were reduced by *Charle Magne*; the government being ever before carried on by a great council of all the particular chieftains of their clans convened in a general assembly. Such chieftains were *Hengist* and *Horfa*, sons of *Witgilsus*, great grandson to the famous *Woden*, whom all the nation worshipped as the God of war, and from whom all the *Saxons* princes, which composed their heptarchy in *England*, were likewise descended. These two princes, bringing with them a number of their vassals (which some compute at 1500, nor could they well be more, being transported in three long flat-bottomed vessels or *ciules*) landed at *Hypwins-fleete*, now *Ebs-flete*, in the *Isle of Thanet*: and were soon obliged to march to the northern parts of *Britain*, beyond the *Humber*; where they routed the *Picts*, who had made incursions into the bordering provinces. This service being very acceptable to the natives, helped to

¹ *Hist. Eccl.* l. i. c. 17.² *Ib.* c. xv. l. v. c. 24.³ *MS. Bibl. Cotton. Julius D. vi. 1*⁴ *Antiq. Brit.* c. 12. p. 219.

facilitate the settlement of the *Saxons*; who having, in the expedition, had opportunities of observing the fertility of the land, the slothful indolence of the *Britains*¹, and the dissensions that reigned among them, gave notice thereof to their countrymen in *Germany*. This intelligence, flattering them with the hopes of an easy conquest of the country, soon brought over, in eighteen ships, a reinforcement of 5000 men, with their wives and children; and these being followed from time to time by further supplies, the *Britains* began to be terrified with their numbers, and apprehensive of their design, when it was too late to find a remedy. The *Saxons* were now strong enough to declare it openly: and picking an occasion of quarrel with the *Britains*, on account of their pay not being duly advanced, nor their provisions furnished in sufficient quantity according to the stipulations between them, they threatened to destroy all the island with fire and sword, if they were not better supplied: and scarce allowing time for the *Britains* to deliberate on their demands, put their threats immediately in execution.

To strengthen their party, and prevent the natives opposing them with all their united force, the *Saxons* made a league with the *Picts*: and falling upon the provinces adjoining to their own settlements, wasted them in a terrible manner; taking towns, demolishing fortifications, burning churches and houses, putting great numbers of the clergy and people to the sword, and exercising horrible cruelties in all places. The *Britains* assembling their forces, fought several battles with the enemy, the number and events of which are variously reported by the *British* and *Saxon* writers: *Nennius*² speaks of three victories gained by ³*Vortimer* or *Guortimer*, whom he makes to be son of *Vortigern*, and whose name implies he was a warrior; and says that after the last of these, at a place which he calls *Lapis Tituli*⁴, probably *Folkstone*, *Hengist* was forced to retire into *Germany* for fresh succours; not daring to return from thence till after the death of that brave General; which however happened⁵ presently after that victory, and before the battle of *Creccanford*. The other two battles, in which *Vortimer* is said to command, are placed, the first at *Dartford*, on the *Darent*; and the second at *Æglesford* or *Æglesthorp*, now *Ailesford*; near which is a stone monument of the *British* form, called *Keith-coty-house*, as is imagined from *Catigern* or *Catiges*, a *British* commander, and a village named *Horsted*, from *Horfa* the *Saxon*, who are both thought to be killed in this action. Some place it at *Episford*, which *H. Huntingdon* takes to be *Elfre*, and *Camden*⁶ judgeth to be *Ailesford*; the rather because *Horfa* is said to be there killed; which shews it to be the same action. Whether the others were too inconsiderable to deserve notice, or the *Saxons* did not care to perpetuate the memory of their defeats, the *Saxon Chronicle* mentions only one of these actions, viz.

¹ *Gildas*. ² C. 45.

³ His *British* name was *Gurthenir*; *n* being always changed to *m* in latinising a *British* word, which derived from *Gurth* (*contra, confictus, resistere*) and *uir*, i. e. *vir*, signifies *vir pugnax* or *bellicosus*. But I see no reason to suppose either him, or *Catigern*, by the *Saxon* writers called *Catiges* (whose name, in the *British* history, translated by *Giffrey* of *Monmouth*, is *Kyn-deyrn* or *Kynteyrn*, i. e. the *first* or *principal chieftain*, and being probably so of the army^a, might be also called *Catiges*) to be the sons of *Vortigern*; there being no authority for it but *Nennius*, a fabulous writer, and some who copy from him, where his fables are not too absurd. For my part, I am apt to think that all the battles here mentioned, were fought only by

the *Belgic Britains* that lived either in *Kent*, the scene of all those actions, or in the country adjoining; and that *Catigern* was a *Kentish chieftain*, seems implied in the very name of *Catigern*, given him by *Nennius*, c. 52. which I take to be his true name or appellation, since *n* in the middle of words, was in old manuscripts generally marked by a stroke over the precedent vowel, and seldom wrote when a consonant follows: and it is more likely that such a stroke should be over-looked, than a redundant letter be inserted; which last could scarce be done but by design, though the former might by heedlessness, and mere mistake.

⁴ *Antiq. Rutupin. Sommer's Roman forts in Kent.*

⁵ *H. Hunt.*

⁶ *Brit. in Kent.*

^a Quasi *Cat-gues*, from *Cat*, *exercitus*, and *Gues*, *vir*, i. e. the man of the army, or the leader of it. See *Dexter's Gloss. v. UZZLOCATUA*.

A. D. 448. that of *Ailesford*, in which *Horfa* was killed; whose monument was in *Bede's* ¹ time to be seen in the eastern parts of *Kent*.

Of *Kent*.

VI. By his death, *Hengist* was left the sole chieftain of the *Saxons*: and their writers give him the title of King from the year following, which they consider as the first of his reign. This battle is placed in *A. D.* 455: and two years after, was fought a more decisive one at *Creccanford*, now *Creyford* near *Dartford*; in which the *Britains* being routed with the loss of four of their chieftains, and 4000 men, fled to *London*; leaving *Kent* entirely to *Hengist*: who possessed it so quietly for several years, that it looks as if it was yielded to him, (as some writers ² say) by a treaty; which may account likewise for the visit, which it is generally agreed ³, he made about this time to his native country in *Germany*.

WHETHER the *Britains* were obliged, by treaty, to quit that country, or were drove thence by the enemy, it was at this time, that great numbers of them, as the ancient authors of the lives of *St. Josse* and *St. Winwaloc* ⁴ assure us, went over to *Armorica*; where they understood there was a large tract of country, full of woods, and thinly inhabited; and took possession of the western parts of that province. The prince, who carried over this colony, which consisted of a considerable army, and required a very great number of ships to transport it, is, by *Abbas Florentius*, the first of those writers, called *Rio-valus*; whom *Usher* takes to be the same person with *Rio-thamus* ⁵ mentioned by *Sidonius Apollinaris* ⁶, as commanding the *Britains* seated upon the *Loire* about *A. D.* 467, when his Epistle to this chieftain was written. About three years after, *Rio-thamus* advancing further into *Gaule*, with a body of 12,000 men, to the assistance of the *Romans*, was defeated (as we are told by ⁷ *Jornandes* and *Gregory of Tours* ⁸) with the loss of a good part of his troops by *Euricus*, king of the *Visigoths*, at *Dole* in *Berry*. His very name insinuates that he was a *Kentish* chieftain, and head of a clan near the *Thames*, which the circumstances of his country at this time, seem to confirm; for that he came over to *Gaule* upon the battle of *Creyford*, may very reasonably be concluded from the *Britains* being seated in *Armorica* before *A. D.* 461, when ⁹ *Manfuctus*, their bishop, assisted at the council of *Tours*; his name, with the title of *Britannorum Episcopus*, being found among the subscriptions. He seems to have been their only bishop at that time, and had been consecrated by the archbishop of *Tours*: but this colony being reinforced from time to time, as the *Saxons* gained ground in *Great Britain*, by fresh supplies of refugees from thence, they erected new sees at *St. Malo*, *St. Brieu*, *Treguier*, *St. Pol de Leon*, and in other cities; and getting *Dol* raised to an archbishoprick, withdrew themselves from the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of *Tours*, to whom *Armorica* had been ever subject; whilst it continued part of the Empire, and before it was formed into a distinct independent state by

¹ *Hist. Eccl.* l. i. c. 15. ² *IV. Malmesbury de gest. regn.* l. i. c. 1. ³ *Gildas, Nemius*, c. 48.

⁴ See *Usher's Antiq. Brit.* c. 12. p. 226.

⁵ These two names are much of the same signification, and both express the same thing as *Lugotorix*, the name of another *Kentish* chieftain already mentioned in the account of *Julius Cæsar's* second expedition into *Britain*: for *Rix*, and *Rhi*, do both signify *dominus, satrapa, nobilis*, a lord; as *Lug* and *Tam do flumen*, a river; and *Bal*, and *Bala*, *fluminis ostium*. So that *Rio-thamus* and *Rio-valus* denote a prince who is lord of a country lying on a river, or on the mouth of a river. The series of the *British* history shews that the river here referred to must be the *Thames*, which well deserves being styled, by way of eminence, *the river*; though it is no infrequent

thing in the *British* language, for common appellatives to be changed into proper names. See *Baxter's Gloss. Brit.* v. *LUGOTORIX*, *OTOPINI*, and *Dr. Davies's Dictionary*. And that these were the same person appears clearly from the two lives of *St. Samson*, archbishop of *Dol*, one in the old register of *Landaff*, the other published by *Johannes a Bosco*, from an ancient manuscript in *Biblioth. Floriacensi*; in the first of which *Judhual*, who was drove out of *Bretagne* by the usurper *Commorus* or *Commarus*, is said to be the son of *Jonas*, the son of *Riogual*; in the latter the same *Judhual* is called the son of *Jonas*, the son of *Riodham*.

⁶ *L. i. Ep. vii.* and *l. iii. Ep. ix.* ⁷ *De reb. Getic.* c. 45. ⁸ *L. ii. c. 18.* ⁹ *Concil. Gall.* Tit. i. p. 126.

the *Britains*. The people of that province had endeavoured several times before, to set up for themselves, but without success: *Litorius* had defeated them *A. D.* 434; and in the year following *Ætius* granted their country to the *Alani*, who reduced them entirely. They continued afterwards subject to the *Roman* Emperors; but mutinous, and frequently breaking out into insurrections; till *A. D.* 448, when *St. Germain*¹ returning from *Britain*, they desired him to make their peace with *Valentinian*; which was the occasion of his journey to *Ravenna*, where he died. It was this colony from *Britain*; which first established the province in the independency it had long desired: and occasioned its usual name of *Armorica* to be changed for ever after into that of *Britannia*.

A. D. 448:

THE removal of so numerous a colony from *Kent*, seems to have been the occasion of *Hengist's* visit to *Germany*; to bring from thence a number of his countrymen to people the country: at least he brought back with him a multitude sufficient for that purpose; the *British* history computing them at three hundred thousand. It is immediately after his return, and about *A. D.* 460, that *Nennius*, and others imagine the massacre of the *British* noblemen at *Stonehenge* was perpetrated; a story borrowed from *Witiking*², who relates it of the *Thuringians*, that were murdered by the *Saxons*, on a like occasion, and upon a signal given in the very same words, made use of by the *British* writers. These represent *Vortigern*, as taken at the same time, in order to his redeeming himself by the cession of *Suffex*, *Essex*, and *Middlesex*, to *Hengist*: who possessed of a compact territory, proper for a distinct principality, and divided from the rest of *England* by such natural fences as the *Thames* and forest of *Anderida*, doth not appear ever to have been master of any of those counties. They seem to have been terribly apprehensive, lest the *Saxons* should be thought to have conquered any part of their country by mere force: and this I take to be the very reason why they invented the story of *Rowena*, in order to have a pretence for *Kent's* being yielded to *Hengist*, as a consideration for his daughter, rather than as a consequence of the battle of *Creyford*. Thus when *Cerdic* had, in the course of many years, and by a series of victories, subdued *Dorset*, *Hants*, and part of *Wilts*; *Geffrey* chooseth to impute his possession of those and other counties farther west, which he is pleased to assign him, to a grant of *Mordred*; as *Higden*³ does to the gift of *Arthur*; who being tired with beating *Cerdic*, consented at last, that he should hold a great part of the west of him in Vassalage.

A. D. 460:

WHETHER the *Picts* had not made any diversion in the north, as *Hengist* expected from his league with them, or had agreed to any exchange of settlements, he thought it proper to get a colony of *Saxons* settled in those parts: and having engaged his brother *Oeta*, with his son *Ebissa*, to undertake the affair, they soon, after his return to *Britain*, fitted out a fleet of forty flat bottomed vessels, and sailing with a numerous army on board, to the *British* coast, took possession of *Northumberland*. This country was then but thinly inhabited; all the inland part of it being full of woods and mountains, and as much a desert, as the county of *Durham* (which was at this time a barrier between the *Picts* and *Britains*, and served afterwards for a boundary between the kingdoms of *Deira* and *Bernicia*, being reckoned of neither) continued to be for two hundred⁴ years after, till the time of *St. Cuthbert*. The maritime parts of it were possessed by the *Picts*: with whose consent it is probable the *Saxons* settled there, since we hear of no wars between them, and both nations lived very friendly and mingled together all over *Lothian*,

¹ *Vita S. Germani.*

² *De gestis Saxon.* l. i.

cremi vastitudo tunc temporis fuit, et idcirco nullius ditioni servavit, eo quod sola indomitum et sylvestrium animalium spelunca et habitatio fuit.

³ *Polychron.* l. v. c. 6.

⁴ So *John de Tynmouth* in *vita S. Oswaldi Regis.*
Quicquid inter *Tynam* et *Tesam* fluvios extitit sola

A. D. 460. and even in the city of *Edenburgh*, for above an hundred and twenty years afterwards at the time of the battle of *Arderydd*, as the learned Mr. *Robert Vaughan*, of *Hengurt*, observes in his *Remarks on the British Chronology*. As this country lay beyond the wall of *Severus*, it had belonged to the *Picts*, ever since the *Roman* legions had been withdrawn from *Britain*: yet *Nennius*, being ignorant enough to imagine it was at this time a part of the *British* territories, and *Malmſbury* copying after him implicitly, are fond of representing the *Saxons* taking possession of it, to be done by the leave and consent of *Vortigern*; to whom they are desirous to impute the ruin of their country, rather than to the real cause of it, the divisions of the *Britains*. They say, that this new colony touched in their way at the *Orkneys*, and laid waste those isles, and the coasts of the *Pictish* territories: which inclines me to think it was at this time, that the *Saxons* quitted their settlement in those coasts and islands; and *Octa* probably passed that way to persuade them to remove to a better country, and more southerly climate. This indeed seems implied in the words, which immediately follow in *Nennius*¹, who adds, “that *Hengiſt* invited “the *Saxons* to him, by degrees, *from their plantations about Britain*, by which “means the isles, where they had before settled, were left without inhabitants.” This colony of *Saxons* thus removing from the *Orcades*, and other isles, some to *Kent*, and others to the north in both quarters upon the *Old Britains*; who losing ground, by degrees, felt continually the ill effects of their invitation of that people.

VORTIGERN now began to be considered as the author of all the calamities, which his country suffered, and became infinitely odious. The *British* writers load him with all manner of crimes, and represent him as such a monster of iniquity, that it was not fit to let him go out of the world like other mortals: and therefore they invent various kinds of death to send him hence under marks of the divine vengeance; such as being swallowed up by the earth, and being burnt by fire from heaven. It is reasonable to think, that when he found himself under a general odium, he should retire of his own accord, if he was not forced by the terror of his enemies, to some remote corner of the world, either to hide his shame, or provide for his safety: and *Nennius*² accordingly says, that he built a castle in *Caernarvonſhire*, in the mountainous tract of *Snowdon*, to serve him for a place of refuge; where he passed the remainder of his life, detested by all the world, and in continual terror. Hither the author of the history of *Aldchifter*³ supposeth him to have fled, after his own town in *Radnorſhire* had been burnt by his enemies, or set on fire by himself, to make them imagine he had perished in the flames, and so prevent their farther pursuit; and that the place of his retreat was at the foot of the mountain *Rivel* near *Caernarvon*. It was very conveniently situated for his purpose: there being no coming to it, but over the mountain, and by one narrow pass, scarce allowing three persons to march abreast; which is still called *Bwlch-Guortigern*, i. e. *Vortigern's passage*. There is near it a *tumulus*, or hillock, covered with a large heap of stones, called *Bedn-Guortigern*, i. e. *Vortigern's grave*; which the inhabitants of *Llanbayeron* (in which parish it lies) digging up some years ago, and removing the stones, found a stone chest at the bottom of the heap, and within it the corpse of a very tall man inclosed. These circumstances and memorials afford a strong presumption in favour of this opinion; which is supported likewise by the express testimony of the old *Welſh* bards, who assert in their songs that this was the place of *Vortigern's* abode and sepulture. The time of his death is not so well ascertained; though it is generally supposed to have happened not long after the battle of *Wippeds-flete*: which was fought⁴ *A. D. 465*; *Hengiſt* not being returned

¹ C. 37.² C. 20, and *H. Hunt*. l. ii.³ *Kennet's Paroch. Antiq.* p. 698.⁴ *Chron. Saxon.*

to *Kent* above two or three years, before he was again engaged in war with the *Britains*. It doth not appear who were the aggressors: but the *Britains* seem to have united their forces, and to have had at first some considerable advantages over the *Saxons*, having driven them into the *Isle of Thanet*; for there it was that the battle was fought at *Ebs-flete*, called afterwards *Wippeds-flete*, from *Wipped*, a *Saxon* nobleman, who was slain in the action. *Hengist* re-established his affairs by the complete victory which he there gained over the *Britains*, with the slaughter of a great number of their common soldiers, and twelve of their most considerable chieftains. It is uncertain whether the father of *Ambrosius Aurelianus* fell in this battle, or in that of *Creccanford*; but he seems to be killed in one or other of them; since it appears from *Gildas* and *Bede*, that he was slain, not by the *Britains*, as some suppose, but by the *Saxons*; at least, it is from this time that his son began to make a figure in the world, and appeared at the head of the *British* forces. *Ambrosius* was a *Roman* by descent, born of noble parents and ancestors, who had been possessed of royal power, and had enjoyed the authority of sovereigns, probably among the *Belgic Britains* (with whom it was usual for the *Romans* to intermarry) by an alliance with some heiress of a *British* clan, perhaps of the *Carvili*: and this, or else those *Britains* willing submission to them, in the posts they had filled with benefit to the nation, might naturally tempt them to stay here, after the distresses of the Empire had called off the legions from *Britain*, and all the rest of the *Romans* had buried their treasures, and quitted the country. *Ambrosius* is the only prince or commander in chief of the *British* forces mentioned by *Bede* and *Gildas*: it appears that he was so for life; and, as among his other virtues, ¹ *Bede* particularly extols his modesty, we may reasonably conclude, that his election to that sovereign command was an effect of his merit, rather than ambition; and that he was chosen by a general consent of all the *Belgic Britains*. ² *Nennius* allows him to have had the command of all the provinces inhabited by them in the west of *England*, though he would have it thought to be by a grant of *Vortigern*. Whenever those two authors, and the *Saxon Chronicle*, speak of the *Britains*, and of any action between them and the *Saxons* before this time, they never mention a supreme commander; perhaps because he was only so on the particular occasion: but take notice in general of several principal leaders killed; as if the *Britains* assembled and united only for the present exigence, and fought in their several clans under the command of their respective chieftains, none of them having a pre-eminence over the others. There were so many of these slain in the battle of *Wippeds-flete*, that the *Belgic Britains* had probably little choice of proper persons equal to so important and exalted a dignity, when they came to be sensible of the necessity of a standing General: and this seems to be insinuated in what is said of *Ambrosius* being almost the only one of the *Roman nation* that survived the battle. He soon justified by his actions the choice which they had made of his person: and, gaining a great victory over the *Saxons*, put an effectual stop to the progress of their conquests. *Gildas*, who celebrates it, doth not mention either the time or place of this victory: but it was certainly after the battle of *Wippeds-flete*, since it was won under the conduct of *Ambrosius*; and perhaps after *A. D.* 473, when the *Saxons* again routed the *Britains*; whose affairs, after that defeat, might be in an ill condition, till restored by this success of *Ambrosius*; which is plainly the opinion of *Bede* and *Aldo*; who, in their *Chronicles*, relate it as happening in the time of the Emperor *Zeno*, whose reign began *A. D.* 474, and ended *A. D.* 490. The scene of it must be placed in *Kent*, or in the borders of that county; because, whatever advantage *Hengist* gained over the *Britains* in the engagement of *A. D.* 473 ¹, it was soon lost,

¹ L. i. c. 16.² C. 44.³ Chron. Saxon.

A. D. 460. and he never extended his territories further. This *Saxon* prince, who was crafty, politic, cruel, and enterprising, died, possessed only of *Kent*, after a reign of forty-four years; about *A. D.* 488, but more truly 490¹, when *Dinamius* and *Sipthidius* were consuls. His son *Æsc* succeeded; who, with his descendents to the time of *Ethelbert*, being princes of a different genius from *Hengist*, and very quiet in their nature,² contented themselves with that single province, never stirring out of it, and studying rather to defend, than enlarge,³ their dominions.

Of the South-Saxons.

VII. THE Saxons of *Kent* were not the only enemies which the *Britains* had to oppose: for *A. D.* 477, *Ælla*, another *Saxon* chieftain, landed with his⁴ three sons and a strong force in *Suffex*; defeated the *Britains* in battle; and, forcing them to retire into the forest of *Anderida* for shelter, took possession of the maritime parts of that county. His first attempt was on the country between *Arundel* and *Shoreham*; in which he landed at *Cimenfore* near *Wittering*: and enlarging his settlement along the coast eastward, he laid the foundation of the kingdom of the *South-Saxons*; which afterwards took in the above-named forest and the greatest part of *Surrey*. The *Britains* of those parts did not part with their possessions easily; some years being spent, and several battles fought (particularly⁵ that of⁶ *Mearcudes-Burn*) before they were reduced. *Ælla* suffered so much in these actions, that, till he was joined after *Hengist's* death by a very numerous body of auxiliary *Saxons* from *Germany*, he durst not undertake the siege of *Andred-ceaster*: which proved a very difficult and dangerous enterprize⁷; the *Britains* harassing him continually, attacking one quarter or other of his camp every night, and falling on the back of his men by day, whenever he gave an assault to the city. Their arrows and javelins were unequal weapons to those of the *Saxons* in a close fight: but when hard pressed by the enemy, they still found a ready retreat into the adjoining forest of *Anderida*, and rallying again, left the *Saxon* General no leisure to advance in the siege; till, dividing his vast army into two bodies, he employed one entirely to oppose the *Britains* and cover the besiegers. *Ælla* was so exasperated by the great losses he sustained in these attacks, that, taking the town at last by storm, he demolished it entirely, and put all the inhabitants, as well as garrison, to the sword: and having thus extended his conquests to the frontiers of *Kent*, thought fit in the year following to assume the title of⁸ King, fourteen years after his landing in *Britain*. This he refrained from doing as long as *Hengist* lived: but such was his reputation afterwards for wisdom and power, that he had great deference paid him by the other *Saxon* princes in *England*; and is reckoned by *Bede*⁹ to be the first of those great men, who, on account of their influence or authority over several parts of the heptarchy, were reputed monarchs of the *Saxons*. He died after a reign of thirty-two years, leaving his son *Cissa* to inherit his dominions; who, improving his father's conquests, reduced *Chichester*, an old *Roman* station, the *Regnum* of *Antoninus's* itinerary: which being rebuilt and fortified by this prince, took from him the name of *Cissa-ceaster*. The conquests of another *Saxon* chieftain in *Hampshire* hindered *Cissa* from extending his further on that side: but in the course of a long reign, he subdued the *Britains* in the forest of *Anderida*, and raised the kingdom of the *South-Saxons* to the greatest height of power it ever attained.

¹ *Ib.* and *Flor. Wig.* ² *W. Malmf.* ³ *Æsc* reigned twenty-four years; *Otla* his son, twenty; and *Immerie* his grandson, twenty-nine. ⁴ *Ælla's* sons were *Cymen*, (from whom the place of his landing derived its name) *Ulenting*, and *Cissa*.

⁵ *Flor. Wigorn. Chron. Sax. A. D.* 485.

⁶ *Matth.* of *Westminster* says *Ambrosius* commanded the *Britains* in this battle, and remained

master of the field, though with great loss: *Flurence of Worcester* makes the *Saxons* to have a compleat victory: the *Saxon Chronicle* and *Ethelwerd* do not say who had the advantage, though the presumption is in favour of the latter, since *Ælla* still went on with his conquests.

⁷ *H. Huntingdon*, l. ii.

⁸ *Ib.* *A. D.* 490. *Flor. Wigorn.* puts this in *A. D.* 491. ⁹ *L. ii. c. 5*

VIII. THE kingdom of the *West-Saxons* was the next founded: but, being supported by a more numerous colony than any of the rest, proved the strongest of the *heptarchy*; and contributed more than any of them to break the power of the *Britains*. *Cer-*^{A. D. 460.}
dic, chieftain of a powerful clan of *Saxons*, landed, *A. D.* 495, with his son *Kenric*,^{Of the West Saxons.}
at *Cerdicfore*, which *Camden* and others place at *Cerdicsand* near *Yarmouth* in *Norfolk*: but *Matthew* of *Westminster* supposeth it to lye on some part of the coast in the west of *England*; and it being full as proper for this *Saxon* prince, as it had been for *Ælla* before him, to land in a place, where he might be easily joined, on occasion, by the forces of his countrymen already settled in this island, and the scene of his actions lying in *Dorset*, *Hants*, and the adjoining counties, there is little doubt to be made, but this last opinion ought to be preferred. He was a wise, active, brave, and warlike prince; had much experience in military affairs, and a great character in his own country, where he had distinguished himself by his valour and conduct on many occasions: and he found, from the moment of his arrival here, a continual exercise for his talents. The *Britains* fought him the very day of his landing, but were worsted; and in the course of twenty five years afterwards, during which there was no intermission of the war between them, scarce one passed without some considerable engagement. To supply the loss of men which he must sustain in these actions, however successful they proved in the event, and to plant the territories which he reduced, he was reinforced from time to time by fresh corps of recruits from *Germany*; one of which is particularly mentioned as arriving ¹ *A. D.* 50, at *Portesmuthe*, (so called, according to the common opinion, from the name of the chief commander) but more probably at *Portland* or *Portesham*, lying on the sea near *Abbotsbury* in *Dorsetshire*. *Porte* landing there with his sons *Bieda* and *Megla*, was attacked by a body of *Britains*, hastily got together and led on by a young nobleman, who was killed in the engagement. But the most considerable of the *Saxon* victories was that gained by *Cerdic* in *A. D.* 508², when *Natan-leod*, the greatest of the *British* kings, was with five thousand of his men left dead on the field of battle; from whence all the country, as far as *Cerdicsford* now *Charford*, was called *Natan-leage*. In this action *Cerdic* was assisted by the forces of the *Suffex* and *Kentish Saxons*; and the *Britains* had collected theirs, in order to decide the fate of their country by a general engagement: in which *Natan-leod* charged *Cerdic* and the wing he commanded with so much fury, that he drove him out of the field; but pursuing him too warmly, was surrounded by *Kenric*. This prince, either not opposed, or victorious in the other wing, observing his father's disaster, did not amuse himself in following a retreating enemy: but wheeled about, and, attacking *Natan-leod* in the rear, whilst his troops were disordered by the pursuit, turned the fortune of the day in favour of the *Saxons*.

THIS battle was fought in the western extremity of *Hampshire*, on the borders of *Wilts* and *Dorset*; in which quarter *Camden*³ fixeth it at *Charford*, a place preserving some remains of the name of *Cerdic*; though he could find none which had the least trace of that of *Natanleod*. In attempting to remove this defect, I must first observe, that the *Charford* here mentioned could not be the place, where either *Cerdic* or *Witgar* landed; it being seated near twenty miles within land, at a small distance from the head of the river *Alaun* or *Avon*, which falls into the sea at *Christchurch*. *Charford*, lying between *Corfe-castle* and the sea, in the ile of *Purbeck*, and *Charmouth*² near *Lyme* in *Dorsetshire*, are

¹ Chron. Sax. ² Chr. Sax. Etlchard. Flor. ³ Hunt.
⁴ Britannia, HANT. MIRE.

² This place may well enough pass for *Cerdicore*, as every body allows *Charford* to be a corruption of *Cerdicsford*.

A. D. 460. both very proper places for a descent on the coast of this country; where I am entirely of opinion that *Cerdic* landed. The *Dummonii* were a powerful, hardy and united people: and neither their character, nor the nature of their country offered him any temptations to attack them; nor do I suppose that he possessed any part of that country farther west than the river *Axe*, which parts *Dorset* from *Devon*, and the town of *Charde* in *Somerset*, about twelve miles north of *Char-mcutb*. The more he advanced towards the east, the nearer he approached the other *Saxons*, whose succours he might want on occasion; and as all the northern parts of *Dorset* were taken up by the forests of *Blakemore*, the *White-bart*, and *Gillingham*, which running along a wild country as far as the marshes of *Somerset*, and the woody hills which served for a defence to *Wilts* on that side, seemed to forbid all advances northward, he directed his march along the southern and maritime parts of the ¹ first of those counties, which had been well cultivated by the care and industry of a trading people, and afforded him all the way the convenience of his shipping. In this tract of country, notwithstanding the distance of so many ages, there are still several memorials of this prince's name, particularly in *Char-mister* near *Dorchester*, *Cherford* by *Corfe*, and *Char-barrowe* about five miles from *Poole*, and *Winburne Minster*. He was now advanced to the borders of *Hants* and *Wilts*, the particular territories of the brave *Ambrosius*²; whom I take to be the *Natan-leod* in question, who certainly well deserved a name implying him to be *the defence of the country*, and *protector of the people*; to whom alone the title of *Rex maximus Britannorum* at this time could agree.

THERE is a tract of country in the western part of *Hampshire*, running along the borders of *Wilts* to the edge of *Dorset*, which in those days was wild, uncultivated, and covered all over with woods, and is now known by the names of *Chure* and *Buckholt* forests. This I judge to have been the region formerly called *Natanleage*, or, in more modern spelling, *Natanley*. It runs from *Tanley* (about four miles from *Andover*, and ten from *Ambresbury*) its northern extremity, to *Charford*, which is universally allowed to be *Cerdics-ford*: and as it is very common in *England* for the old names of places to be cut shorter by the first syllable in their modern appellations, I judge *Tan-ley* to have been the *Natan-ley* in question; from which, as from the chief town in an hundred, the rest of the country was denominated, and in which its name seems still preserved. *Cerdic* found from the *Britains* in this country an opposition worthy of the subjects of *Ambrosius*, and answerable to the reputation of that warlike monarch; for on the other side of the ford, on which *Charford* stands, lies *Serchfield*; and about three

¹ *M. Westminster, A. D. 494*, says he made it his business to get possession of the sea coasts, where he advanced continually, but not without frequent battles with the *Britains*.

² Though *Ambrosius Aurelianus* was his *Roman* name, proper to keep up the memory of his descent from a race of *Romans*, *Natan-leod* might be his *British*: and it is certainly agreeable to the *British* manner of giving names to persons, being derived from *Naid*^a (*refugium, asylum, protectio*) as a sign of the genitive case answering to *of*, and *Leod*, *populus*: So that it signifies the *defence* or *protector* of the *people*: The manner of this prince's death by poison, given him by a *Pict* at the instance of *Pascentius*, as related by *Nennius*, and copied from him by other writers, is apparently fabulous; and they all differ, as well about the length of his reign, and the year when he began or ended it, as about the time of his decease. But he must live to *A. D. 508*, if there be any

truth either in what *Nennius* says, that he reigned forty five years, or in the famous *Arthur* serving under him; which is asserted by *Malmshbury*; and is, in respect of time, agreeable to all the accounts given of this last prince in the lives of the many *saints* that flourished in his days. For in those lives he is spoken of as cotemporary with *Brachan* king of *Brecknock*, grandfather of *St. David*; and as being king of *Gwent* at the time of *St. Gundleus's* marriage with *Gladysa*, *Brachan's* daughter, and mother to *Cadoc*, i. e. many years before *A. D. 500*. He is indeed only mentioned there as king of that particular country; nor could he be represented otherwise, till after the death of *Ambrosius*, when he came to be general in chief of all the united *Britains*; which seems to be the reason, why those who are willing to have him thought, in contradiction to the plainest facts, universal monarch of *Britain*, make his reign not to commence till after *A. D. 508*.

^a See Davies's *Welsh Dictionary*, and explanation of names at the end of *Chron. Sax. v. NATANLEOD*.

miles further towards *Rumsey*, is *Sbarfield* or *Cberfield*. There is another place of the same name near *Basingstoke*; *Fifield* and *Clanfield* lye in the forest of *Cbure*; *Lichfield* near *Andover*; and there are above twenty towns in *Hampshire*, whose names terminate in *feld*, the usual mark all over *England* of places that have served formerly for fields of battle. This shews what a deal of blood must be shed before *Cerdic* could reduce this county; which seems to have been won by inches, and the progress he made in the conquest of it so very slow, that notwithstanding his victory at *Chārford*, *A. D.* 519, and another at *Cerdicsley*, placed by the *Saxon chronicle* in *A. D.* 527, he did not advance to the *Isle of Wight* till *A. D.* 530¹, when his great victory at *Witgara byrig*, now *Carisbrooke-castle*, enabled him to subdue that island. The place last named was so called from *Witgar*, nephew to *Cerdic*, who, *A. D.* 514, landed at *Cerdicfore* with his brother *Stufus* and a fresh body of *Saxons*; a very seasonable recruit to that prince: who, five years after, assumed the title of King, on the very day he gained the battle of *Chardford*². *Huntingdon* says, the *Britains* received a terrible blow in that battle: and this gave so much confidence to *Cerdic*, that, concluding them unable to take the field with an army sufficient to oppose his progress, he ventured the year following to enter the borders of *Berkshire*, and laid siege to mount *Badon* or *Badbury*, a place of considerable strength in that age by reason of its elevated situation. The *Britains* of those parts applied to their friends and allies for assistance; succours came to them from all quarters; the famous *Arthur*, marching with a body of the hardy race of the *Sihures* to the relief of the place, raised the siege: and by his incomparable valour routed *Cerdic* in a bloody battle, with the slaughter of such a multitude of *Saxons*, that they were forced to be quiet for some years; and never attempted, during that prince's reign, to advance further towards the *Severne*.

THIS is the hero, and this the battle, so much celebrated by the pen of *Taliesin*, and other ancient *British* poets; whose just praises of *Arthur*, and faithful account of his glorious achievements, have been so clouded by the absurd and senseless fictions of later bards, and other romantic writers, in their injudicious endeavours to embellish them, that not only his actions, but his very being, have been questioned. What is said by *Nennius* and *Geffrey* of his birth and descent, is evidently fabulous: there is no authority worthy of credit for there ever being such a man as *Uther*; who seems to have owed his creation to the name of his pretended son, for *Utbr*³ signifying, *wonderful* or *admirable*, and *Ar-utbr*, *more wonderful*, or *superior to Utbr*, some person of a fertile imagination might thence take occasion to suppose, that the name of *Arthur* was given him to shew that he was greater than his father. *Malmesbury*, speaking of *Arthur* owns him to be a great man, and lamenting the fabulous stories of him spread over *Wales*, and swallowed too implicitly, doth him the justice to say, “that he was the support of his country for a long time; that he raised the broken spirits of the *Britains*, and formed them into warriors.” This author represents him however not as a monarch, but as a general serving under *Ambrosius*; which he probably did in his younger years: but it is full as probable, that after the death of this king he acted as *General in chief* in all the wars of his time between the *Saxons* and the *Britains*, who invited him to their assistance. It is in this light that *Nennius* and *Huntingdon* represent him: and the merit of the succours which he brought them, besides his great reputation, courage, military skill, and experience, naturally recommended him to that dignity. His own dominions lay remote from danger, and were not infested by any incursions of the enemy: it was the generosity of his mind, and the ardour

¹ *Chron. Sax.*² *Flor. Wigorn. H. Hunt.*³ *Dr. Davies's Welsh Dict. v. UTHR.*

A. D. 460. of his courage, which put him upon marching with his forces to the assistance of the *Belgic Britains*, whenever they were pressed by the *West-Saxons*. His territories were situated more conveniently than any others of the *Welsh* princes for that purpose; for he seems to have been king of *Gwent*, which comprehended all *Monmouthshire*, part of the dioceses of *Hereford* and *Worcester*, and the part also of *Glocestershire*, lying between the *Wye* and the *Severne*. *St. David*, who was descended from *Breckan*, king of *Brecknock*, by one of his daughters, and founded the see of *Menevia*, was his uncle by the mother's side: and all circumstances concur to shew that he was, like him, a native of *South-Wales*. As to his being a king, it is a fact put out of doubt by the testimony of *Llewarch-ben*, a nobleman among the *Cumbrian Britons*; who says in his poems, that he had in his youth been himself at king *Arthur's* court; which, by all accounts, seems to have been usually kept at *Caerleon*¹ upon *Uske*, as is expressly asserted in the *Triades*. There is, on the southern border of *Brecknockshire*, an exceeding high mountain, ascending nearer the clouds than any other in the neighbourhood, and terminating in a double top, like the famed *Parnassus*, which is called² *Cadair Arthur*, i. e. *Arthur's chair*; one part of the name being taken from its shape, the other from its superior elevation, which induced the *Britains* to denominate it from the greatest and most eminent of their princes. It was a name more in request in those parts than it appears to have been in any other quarter of *Britain*: and the ancient register of *Landaff*, among several benefactions made to that church in the times of *Dubricius*, *Teliau*, and *Oudoceus*, the three first bishops of the see, recites at length two grants; one, of the lands of *St. Kinmarc* by *Arthruis*, king of *Gwent*, son of that *Mouric*, king of *Glamorgan*, who gave *Moch-ros* to *Dubricius*; the other, of *Cairriow*, by another *Arthruis*, king also of *Gwent*, but the son of *Fernvail*, king of the same country. These grants do not express the year wherein they were made; it not being usual in those days to date them, and the less necessary in these instances, because they were signed and offered, upon the altar of the church, in the presence of all the chieftains, nobles, and clergy of the country, assembled in a general council. But the language and orthography in which they are written³, scarce intelligible now to any of the *Welsh*, but such of the learned as are versed in the writings of *Llewarch* and *Talieffin*, are sufficient vouchers for their antiquity: and the lands were enjoyed by the see of *Landaff*⁴, from the time of its first bishops to that of the reformation. As the times agree, there is little room to doubt but one of these kings of *Gwent*, most probably the former, was the *Arthur* in question; whose death, as it is generally agreed, happened *A. D.* 542⁵.

THIS hero seems to have been unfortunate in his marriages; the *British* antiquities assigning him three wives⁶, all of the name of *Gwenever*; of which only the second deserved to be interred with him in the same sepulchre. The first was carried off by *Meluas*⁷, king of the *Somersetshire Britains*, in *A. D.* 509, and detained for a year at *Glastenbury*: but *Arthur* finding out the place of her retreat, and advancing with an army of his subjects and allies to invest it, peace was made between the two princes, and the lady restored, by the mediation of *Gildas Albanus*. The third proved the occasion of his death by her intrigue with his nephew *Modred*⁸; which seems to have been the motive of that rebellion, in which the

¹ *Rob. Vaughan's Critic on the British Chronology.*

² *Gir. Cambrenf. Itin. Cambriae*, l. i. c. 2.

³ See Sir *J. Pryse's Brit. Hist. defensio*, p. 25, &c.

⁴ *Godwin De præsul. Angl.* *Usher's Ant.*

Brit. p. 272, and Mr. *Vaughan's Critic on British Chronol.*

⁶ *Hist. Brit. defensio*, p. 134.

⁷ *Caradoc's Life of Gildas Albanus*, *Usher's Chron. in Brit.*

⁸ *Modred* was the son of *Anna*, *Arthur's* sister, not by *Lotho* (or *Llewthin Luyddawg*, i. e. the popular) king of the *Picts*, as by *Geffrey of Monmouth's* mistranslation of her husband's name is erroneously supposed, but by *Llew* (as he is called in the original) or *Leo*, son of *Marebion*^a; as is expressly asserted in some very authentic books of *British* antiquities and genealogies still extant, which mention

traitor lost his life, and *Arthur* received his death's wound at the battle of *Camlan*. The name of this place shews it to be a valley, near some river called *Alaun*; but there were, in the old *British* times, so many rivers of this name throughout *Britain*, and consequently so many valleys near them, which might be called *Camlan*, that it is not easy to ascertain the particular place of the battle, nor even the quarter of the island in which it happened. It is more certain, that, wherever he was wounded or died, his body was transported to *Glastenbury* (where there was an old church in such high veneration, that the corpse of 'St. *Ilut* and other *British* saints, as likewise of several princes who died in *Wales*, or other distant places, were transported thither) and was there buried near the church, between the two pyramids, as *Malmesbury*² describes the place, some years before the grave was opened. The songs made in his honour by the bards, and sung all over *Wales* (where *Henry II.* heard them, as he passed through the country on his *Irish* expedition) taking notice of his being interred at *Glastenbury*, raised the curiosity of that king: and drew from him an order, at the latter end of his reign, to have a search made for *Arthur's* body. This was done about 1189; when after digging seven foot under ground, a broad grave-stone was found; in the upper part of which nothing appeared: but there was inserted in the lower a cross all of lead, with these words engraved on it; HIC JACER SEPULTUS INCLITUS REX ARTHURUS IN INSULA AVALLONIA. The modesty of the inscription, so suitable to the simplicity of those times, and so very different from the pompous titles ascribed to *Arthur* in the forged seals affixed to a spurious charter, which some pretend he granted to the university of *Cambridge*, is a strong presumption of its being genuine, and engraved at the time of his funeral; before any of the legends were framed, which have destroyed the memory of his real actions, by substituting in their stead an heap of romantic stories, and a series of imaginary conquests, inconsistent with the undoubted circumstances of the *British* affairs. Some feet lower in the ground than this stone, was discovered a wooden coffin, in which lay the body of a very big-made man, answerable to the general opinion of *Arthur's* strength, and the idea

both these princes, but speak of them as distinct persons. *Llew* was undoubtedly one of the *Cumbrian* princes; abundance of which are celebrated in the writings of the ancient bards, but seldom with any distinction of their territories; which, however generally known in their days, cannot now be easily traced (though in many instances they were denominated from their princes) through the want of monuments to preserve their memory, and the changes that happen in the names of places in the course of so many ages. There is still, on the edge of *Cumberland* and *Northumberland*, a wild and mountainous tract of country, called at this day *Llew's forest*, running north-east from *Thirlwall* and *Bellister castles*, not far from which the river *Alne* falls into the *South Tyne*, as the *West* and *East Alaun* do somewhat lower. There is likewise, but more southward in the *Cumbrian* dominions, another very considerable river, called *Launor Lane*, which running by *Kirkby Laundale* falls into the sea below *Lancaster*. It is in a valley through which one of these rivers runs, that I suppose the battle of *Camlan*, or *Camlan*, as it is indifferently called, was fought; but more probably in the large tract of valley about the last, still known by the *Saxon* name of *Laundale*, answering exactly in sense to the *British Camlan*. It was equally natural for *Mordred* to retire with *Gwenivere* to his own territories, and for *Arthur* to pursue him thither: nor was it more

difficult to transport this last prince, when mortally wounded, from thence, than it was from *Camlsford* in *Cornwall*, by sea to *Glastenbury*: where, probably out of a motive of religion, he chose to die and be buried. *Geffrey's* relation is too romantic and inconsistent with the history of the times to need a refutation. *Mordred* had no territories in the west of *England*, nor any in *Wales*, for though his brother *Gwalchmai*, or *Wakwain*, a very pious and brave prince, who continued faithful to *Arthur*, was buried in *Ros*, in *Pembrokeshire* (a quarter of which country still passes by the name of *Commor Gwalchmai*) and his sepulchre was there found in the time of *William the conqueror*, it is very certain he had no dominions in that county; though it may admit a doubt, whether he retired thither out of a devout veneration to *St. David's* memory, after seeing the miseries brought on his country by his brother's rebellion and *Arthur's* death, or because he was driven out of his own territories by the *Saxons*, as *Malmesbury* affirms. This writer adds, that *Gwalchmai's* dominions lay in *Wakceithia* (or *Galloway* now *Galloway*) on the borders of which county lies the forest of *Lewes*, and being north of the wall, was formerly comprehended in that province, which took in a much greater extent of country, than it doth at present.

¹ Vita S. Iluti.

² De Antiq. Gloucn. p. 306.

* See Mr. Pungban of Hengrave's Dissertation on the British Chronology.

^b L. iii.

A. D. 460.

one should naturally form of so renowned an hero: but the uncommon size of the head, and some marks about it, seemed more worthy of a particular description to *Giraldus Cambrensis*¹, an eye-witness of what is here related; who observed therein the scars of above ten wounds, all of them healed, except one, larger than the rest, still open and gaping wide, which alone appeared to be mortal.

WITH this prince expired the glory, the strength, and the virtue of *Britain*; which, being left by his death without a leader distinguished enough by his merit, talents, and reputation, to unite the many little princes that ruled in their several territories or clans dispersed through the various provinces of the island, and to enjoy the chief command of all their forces, undisturbed by any competitor, lost all hopes of expelling the *Saxons*, and hastened apace to her ruin. If this had been hitherto delayed, it was owing purely to the great abilities and eminent virtues of *Arthur* and his predecessor *Ambrosius*; who infused their own spirit into the *British* nations, and animated them to those great and glorious actions, of which they set them such illustrious examples. It is of their times that *Gildas*² speaks, when he extols the religion, piety, and virtues of the *Britains*, and represents the regularity of conduct universally observed by their kings and princes, the clergy, public magistrates, and private persons, by all orders of men amongst them: so general is the influence of the example; such the happy effects of the wise government of great and good princes. That writer particularly celebrates the goodness, modesty, affability, justice, honour, and fortitude of *Ambrosius*; and though he doth not expressly mention *Arthur*, yet he takes notice of the victory of mount *Badon* (which other cotemporary writers unanimously ascribe to this prince) of the tranquillity which, in consequence thereof, the *Britains* enjoyed for many years; and of the hopeful condition of their affairs, whilst the race of men, who lived at the time of that battle, subsisted; till another generation, growing up in the plenty and softness of peace, and indulging themselves in all kinds of luxury and excess, fell into the worst of vices and enormities, which overspread the land like a deluge, and made every part of it a terrible scene of rapine, violence, bloodshed, and confusion. They must be more than ordinary virtues, which can enable a prince to reform a nation, and preserve an union between different states and divided interests: nor can we desire a more convincing proof, than the condition of the *Britains* in his time gives us, of the many excellent qualities ascribed to *Arthur* by *Lhowarch-ben*, *Talieffin*, and other cotemporary writers. The great respect he always shewed to *Dubricius* and *St. David*; his benefactions to churches; his encouragement of the many seminaries erected in his time for the institution of youth in learning and religion; and the number of excellent prelates which filled the sees during his government, are so many testimonies of his piety and zeal for religion. His very court was a school of virtue; where *Lhowarch-ben* (whose poems, still preserved, are full of admirable precepts in morality) *Urian Reged*, *Kindelu*, son of *Kendroin*, *Cumbrian* princes, and *Gereint*, prince of *Cornwall*³, were formed for the good government of their vassals, and for actions which have transmitted their memory with honour to posterity. The generosity of his nature, the nobleness of his sentiments, the love of his country, and the public spirit which animated all his actions, appear manifestly in the continual exposing of his life on all occasions, whenever any other *British* princes desired his assistance against their enemies; which, affording him opportunities of displaying his extraordinary valour, could not fail of being recorded by the poets of his time, ever fond of celebrating that shining quality, more than any other accomplishments in their heroes.

¹ *L. De inst. princ. & in speculo ecclesiastico.* ² C. 26. ³ See Sir J. Pryse's *Defensio hist. Britannicæ*.

It is probably owing to the songs and poems, which they composed in honour of *Arthur*, that the names of the places, where he gained twelve of his victories, are still preserved¹: They were all gained before *A. D.* 520, except that of mount *Badon*, which happening in that very year, is placed by all the *British* writers as the last in order of time: and the defeat there given the *Saxons* is said by *Gildas* to be the last considerable one they had suffered before the time of his writing; which, was forty four years after that famous battle. They seem all to be gained over the *Northumbrian* or *Western Saxons*; the scene of them lying in the north and west of *England*; countries possessed by the kings and people of the *Britains*, with whom those of *Wales* held the greatest correspondence, and made the most frequent alliances. The effect of them was the peace and tranquillity before mentioned; which *Gildas* representing to be general as well as lasting, it is very probable the *Northumbrians*, before weakened by the loss of an hundred and forty of their nobility slain (as *Merlinus*² *Caledonius* says) by *Arthur* in the battle at *Coit-Kelydon*, continued quiet all the remaining two and twenty years of *Arthur's* reign, as it is very plain from all accounts the *Wes-Saxons* did; *Cerdic* never attempting, after his defeat at mount *Badon*, to pass out of *Hampshire*; but contenting himself with reducing the southern part of this county (which lay too remote for *Arthur* to succour) in order to make his territories contiguous to those of the *South-Saxons*.

THE *Britains* living in the countries that lay between the *Trent* or *Humber* and the *Thames*, in the midst of the colonies and garrisons of the *Romans*, had been so long inured to the customs of the latter, that they retained very little of the *British*: and being thoroughly intermixed with them for several ages, it is not unlikely but they had, in that length of time, lost the use of their ancient language. Whether it was for this or any other reason, we do not find in any of the poems of the *Bards*, in any of the *Lives* of *British Saints*, or in any other ancient writer, the

¹ The first of *Arthur's* battles is placed at the mouth of the river *Glen*; probably that which runs through *Glendale* in *Northumberland* on the borders of *Scotland*; the second, third, fourth, and fifth were fought on the *Douglas*, a river running by *Wigan* in *Lancashire*, and together with a very large pool, called *Mereton-mere*, enclosing a tract of country which might from thence deserve the name of *Llyn-uis*, i. e. in *British*, a pool of water, or *Isis*, as *Higden* (in *Polychron*) calls it; being a kind of island^b. The sixth is placed on a river called *Bassus* (perhaps from *Bas*, shallow, and *Essa*, water) a name which agrees well enough with the small river, at the head of which lies *Basingstoke* in *Hampshire*, and a little lower on it, *Basing*, near which is *Cherfield*, preserving the memory of some battle of *Cerdic*; with whom both the *British* and *Saxon* writers agree, *Arthur* had several bloody engagements. The seventh was in *Coit-Kelydon*, probably in the *Cumbrian* kingdom, and the place where *Merlinus Caledonius* lived, who speaks of it in his poem, entitled *Avallenau*; though *M. Westminster* imagines this battle was fought near *Lincoln*, a notion utterly groundless; and says that six thousand *Saxons* being killed in it, the rest of their army fled to the woods of *Kelydon*, and was forced to surrender. They were routed likewise with great slaughter in the eighth battle; which is said to be fought at the castle of *Guinion*, probably the *Vinonia* of *Ravennas* and *Ptolemy*,

now *Binchefer* in the county of *Durham*; as the ninth was at *Caer-legion*, now *Chester*. The tenth was at *Arderith*, where, about fifty eight years afterwards, was fought between several *Cumbrian* princes one of the three frivolous battles of the *Britains* mentioned in the *Triades*, and which Mr. *Vaughan*^d guesses to be *Arderith*, about six miles from the mouth of the rivers *Solway* and *Esk* in the borders of *Scotland*. The eleventh is placed at the mountain of *Agned-Cath-Regenion*, which Mr. *Camden* takes for *Cathbregion* or *Cadbury* in *Somersetshire*, but Mr. *Lloyd* and others more probably for *Edinburgh*; the old *British* name of which was *Agned*, and the east part of the old town is overlooked by an high mountain which is now called *Cadr Arthur*, perhaps formerly *Cadr Bre-nion*; words signifying either *Arthur's* or the *King's* chair, castle, or fortification. The twelfth of *Arthur's* battles hath been already mentioned, as fought, not at *Bath*, which was a famous city beautified^e by the *Romans*, and too well known, if besieged, to be called by any other name than *Caer Badon*; but at mount *Badon* in *Berks*, on the borders of *Hampshire*, the situation of which agrees to its name; whereas *Bath* is seated in a bottom, and could never be taken for the *Aons Badonius*, but by the guess of some unskillful person, whose note of its lying near the *Seorine* chanced to creep into the text of a copy of *Gildas*.

^a See *Pryse's Defens. hist. Brit.* p. 121.

^b See *Brompton*, col. 1157.

^c *Nennli Historia Britonum*, and *H. Hunt*, l. 11.

^d See *Dexter's Gloss. Brit.* v. BEO-SSA.

^e *Dissertation on the British Chronology*.

^f See *Dr. Musgrave's Belgium Britannicum*.

A. D. 460. least vestige of their holding any correspondence with either the *Welsh*, the *Cumbrian*, or the *Strathclyd Britains*; or of their making any application to *Arthur* for succours; though they stood in need of his assistance to enable them to make head against their enemies. Among other *British* customs grown obsolete among them, they seem to have lost the use of *Bards*; at least there is no account of any they had: nor do the *Welsh* and *Cumbrian* poets ever touch upon any transactions that passed in those countries, after they were quitted by the *Romans*. Thus destitute of all memorials to ascertain facts and explain the nature and particulars of the constitution of these people, we can only conjecture, that upon the extinction of the *Roman* power, the colonies, *Municipia*, and the countries adjacent, formed themselves into little states, under the government of such of the *Roman*¹ officers in their respective districts as thought fit to stay in *Britain*; or in case of their departure, under the command of such of their own chieftains as had preserved any account of their descent, or any remains of their ancient authority. Whether any union or league was made among these states, as there had been of old in *Gaul*, and among their ancestors in *Britain*, for their common defence, doth not appear: but in their divided condition, they were ill qualified to oppose the invasions made upon them by the *Saxons*, in the time of *Arthur*.

Of the *East-Angles*, *Mercia*, and the *East-Saxons*.

IX. THE conquests made by their countrymen in *Britain* not only drew over fresh bodies of men to recruit their forces, and plant the countries already reduced; but tempted other *Saxon* chieftains to engage in the like adventures, and to come over with their vassals, to settle in other parts of the island. The coast from the mouth of the *Humber* to that of the *Thames* lay very convenient for their making descents in the provinces, which afterwards composed part of the kingdoms of *Mercia*, and the *East-Angles*: and thither they first came, *A. D.* 527², in a very considerable body, being followed continually by numerous armies of other adventurers. It was not till after an infinite number of battles fought with various success, that the *Britains* were reduced, and the *Saxon* chieftains got possession of the several countries which they invaded. As these chiefs were many in number, all independent of each other, and made war separately in their respective quarters, none of their names have been preserved: and for the same reason, none of them assumed the title of King till *A. D.* 575³, when the kingdom of the *East-Angles* was founded by *Uffa*; as that of *Mercia* was, *A. D.* 582⁴, by *Crida*, a descendant of *Witbleg*'s, the second son of *Woden*; though the first of these did not arrive at its full extent till the time of *Redwald*, nor the last, till that of *Penda*. The *East-Saxons* came over at the same time with the others; and seized, by degrees, *Essex*, *Middlesex*, and the part of *Hertfordshire* belonging to the diocese of *London*: but as they were likewise under several independent chiefs, none of them assumed the royalty till the time of *Erkenwin*. The kingdom of *Mercia* comprehended all the rest of the middle of *England*, east of the *Severne*, and south of *Lancashire* and *Yorkshire*, except *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Cambridgehire*, which composed the kingdom of the *East-Angles*. The *Britains* in those parts, divided as they were, might perhaps think they were able to repel the attacks of a parcel of little chieftains, who appeared to be as much divided as themselves: and being naturally disposed to have a good opinion of their own prow-

¹ The names of some of the little *British* princes at this time are plainly *Roman*; as *Caton*, spoken of in the life of *St. Winwaloe*, and *Constantine*, king of the country between the *Wye* and *Severne*, mentioned in his son-in-law *Peppan ap Erb*'s grant of lands to the church of *Landaff*. *Register. Landav.*

p. 92. in *Vita Dubricii*. This *Constantine* was uncle to the famous *Arthur*, and repaired *Worcester*. *Leland's Itin.* T. iv. p. 169.

² *II. Hunt.* l. ii. ³ *M. Wylm.*

⁴ *II. Abbatsh.* l. i.

wells, and to be puffed up with any little success they chanced to have, they easily flattered themselves with the hopes of expelling the *Saxons* by their own force, till these last were, by some favourable events, enabled to fix their settlements. Their progress however doth not seem to be rapid; for what contributed most to the forming of those kingdoms was the success and victories of the *West-Saxon* princes. *Cerdic*, dying *A. D.* 534¹, was succeeded by his son *Kenric*, a prince of an enterprising genius, and neither in wisdom, bravery, activity, nor in any other respect, inferior to his father. He seems however to have rested quiet and contented with the dominions he inherited till sometime after the death of *Arthur*; since he did not reduce *Wiltshire*, which its high situation and woods rendered difficult of access, till *A. D.* 552², when having given a great defeat to the *Britains*, he soon after took the strong fortress of *Old Sarum*, and made himself master of that county. The conquest of it seems to be completed about *A. D.* 556, which *Huntingden* says was the fifth year of the war; when there was another bloody battle, in which the historian remarks, that the *Britains* drew up their army, after the *Roman* manner, in three *corps*, consisting each of three lines, it being most convenient for the use of their arrows and javelins; and that the *Saxons*, forming all one strong column, attacked them with great bravery, and closed with the enemy; but notwithstanding the advantage which they had by their weapons in that manner of fight, it did not terminate till night parted the combatants. It was fought near *Berun-birig* or *Barbury castle*: which is seated on an high hill near *Marlborough*, on the edge of *Berkshire*; towards which county *Kenric* directed his advances. Whether he reduced any part of it, or made any further progress on the side of *Somerset*, to which his way was now open, before he died, in *A. D.* 560³, doth not appear: but his son *Ceaulin* had undoubtedly subdued all to the *Thames*, before he passed this river, and invaded the provinces which made afterwards part of the *Mercian* kingdom. His forces were, in *A. D.* 571, advanced under the command of his brother *Cuthulf* as far as *Bedford*; where a battle was fought that decided the fate of *Mercia*. For the *Britains* of those parts being defeated, and finding themselves attacked on all sides by enemies far superior to them in force, had no party left to take, but either to submit or quit their country. It was in consequence thereof, that the three kingdoms above-mentioned were formed: and *Cuthulf* having immediately after his victory taken *Leigh-ton*⁴, *Ailesbury*, *Bensington*, and *Eignesham*, deemed royal cities, *Ceaulin* thereby saw himself master of the vale of *Bucks*, and of all *Oxfordshire*.

CEAULIN, leaving the *East-Angles*, *East-Saxon*, and *Mercian* princes to finish the conquest of the countries in which they established their several dominions, turned his arms upon *Gloucestershire*, which took him up some years in reducing: nor had he made any considerable progress in that work till *A. D.* 577⁵, when, having routed the *Britains* and killed three of their kings in the battle of *Derham* near *Marlfield*, the cities of *Bath*, *Cirencester*, and *Glocester*, were forced to submit to the conqueror. Some parts of the county held out seven years longer, till the battle of *Fethanleagh*⁶, or (as *M. Westminster* call it) *Fritthenly*, which some take to be *Fretberne*, on the east bank of the *Severne*; after which he took several other towns, and reduced all the country as far as that river. In this battle, which was fought with great obstinacy, his son *Cuthwine* was killed, and the *Britains* had at first the advantage: but *Ceaulin* rallying his men, renewed the fight with greater

¹ *Ib. H. Hunt. Ethelward.* ² *Ib. Chron. Sax. Flor. Wig. H. Hunt. A. D.* 551.

³ This place is, in the *Saxon Chronicle*, and by other writers, called *Lygan-birig*, which in *English* is *Ley-ton*, probably from its standing on a river of

the name of *Lygean* in *Saxon*, or *Ley* in *English*. See *Camden* in *Essex* speaking of the river *Lygean* or *Ley*, which parts *Essex* from *Middlesex*.

⁵ *Ib. and Ethelward.* ⁶ *Chron. Sax. H. Hunt. Flor. Wig.*

A. D. 584. fury than ever; and gained a compleat victory. He bought it dear, by the loss of a son, who had distinguished himself in many actions, and was both beloved and esteemed; whereas *Ccaulin's* restless humour and fury for war, which he carried on all his reign without any intermission, rendered him infinitely odious, as well as dreaded, and created him a multitude of enemies that conspired his ruin. It came from a quarter whence perhaps he least expected it; from his own nephew *Ceola* or *Ceolric*, son of the brave *Cutkulf*: who rebelling against him, and setting up for the crown (as *Florence of Worcester* says) in *A. D. 591*,¹ was supported in his pretension by the united forces of the *Saxons* and *Britains*. The dispute was decided the year following by a battle fought at *Wodnesbury* or *Wanborough* in *Wilts*, on the edge of *Berkshire*; in which *Ccaulin* being routed, was forced to quit his dominions, and died soon after in exile. His death secured a quiet possession of the crown to *Ceola*; who enjoyed it but five years: and dying in *A. D. 598*, was succeeded by his brother *Ceolulf*, a prince full as unquiet in his nature, and warlike in his inclinations, as *Ccaulin*.

Of the North-
Saxons.

X. IT may be observed, with regard to all the kingdoms of the *heptarchy* above-mentioned, that none of the *Saxon* princes assumed the title of King till they thought themselves fully secured in the possession of the provinces, which by that step they erected into a kingdom. The *Saxons* settled in the north of *England* seem to have thought their possession more precarious, and for a much longer time than any of the others; since none of their chieftains pretended to royalty till near an hundred years after their arrival in *Northumberland*. *Malmesbury*, and our other historians² think, that they abstained from it out of deference to *Hengist* and his line; who being descended of *Weldeg*, the eldest son of *Woden*, seemed entitled to the rights and prerogatives of primogeniture; and that they lived all that time, like private persons, under the government of the kings of *Kent*, and in a constant obedience to their authority. The first leaders indeed of the colony settled in those parts were younger branches of *Hengist's* family, and came over at his instance, in consequence of a league he had made with the *Picts*: but whatever regard they paid to that prince during his life, there is not the least trace of their receiving any orders from his successors, or of their owing them any subjection. There are some princes whom *Bede* dignifies with the style of monarchs, as if they ruled over all the branches of the *heptarchy*: but that title carried with it no real authority, nor did it imply any vassalage to be due from other princes; being designed only to shew the great influence which they had in the other kingdoms, by their superior talents, wisdom, power, and reputation. This might be shewn by considering the several kings to whom it is given; particularly *Ethelbert* of *Kent*, *Redwald* of the *East-Angles*, and *Ccaulin* of the *West-Saxons*, who, though all living at the same time, are yet equally ranked among those monarchs; a title which, being given them perhaps in their life time by way of compliment on some occasions, seems to have had in after ages a different sense put upon it, inconsistent with the independency which every particular king enjoyed in his own realm, and every chieftain in his territories, before a kingdom was erected. Such an independency the *Northumbrian* chieftains enjoyed for about sixty years after the death of *Hengist*: and though it was not so well adapted to make conquests, as royalty was, yet they took possession of some parts of *Yorkshire*, and made incursions into *Lancashire*, till they were repressed by *Arthur*. They were perhaps forced in his time, as may reasonably be in-

¹ *W. Malmesb. H. Hunt.* ² *Nemius*, c. 63. says, that after *Hengist's* death *Oeta* quitted the north to reign in *Kent*; but this seems a mistake arising from his confounding *Oeta* with *Ælsea*, the son, or

Oeta the grandson of *Hengist*, who succeeded on another in that kingdom, according to the *Saxon Chronology*.

KINGS of KENT.

KINGS of SOUTH-SAXONS.

A.D. 455. Hengist^a. ob. 488.

488. Æsc^b.

Octa^b.

Ermenric^b.

566^c. Ethelbert^b. ob. 616.

616^a. Eadbald. ob. 640.

^aErmenred.

640^a. Erconbert.

^aEthelbert.
ob. f. p.

^aEthelred.
ob. f. p.

^a664. Egbert.

^a673. Lotharius.
ob. 685.

^a685. Eadric.
ob. 686.

^a686. Withred.
ob. 725.

^a725. Eadbert.
ob. 748. f. p.

^a748. Ethelbert.
ob. 760. f. p.

^a760. Alric.
ob. 794. f. p.

A.D. 794. ^aEadbert *Pren. Usurps*, deposed, A.D. 796.
796. Cuthred brother to Kenulf king of Mercia. ^aob 805.
805. Baldred put in. by Mercians.
driven out by Egbert. ^aA.D. 823.

A.D. 490^a. Ælla. ob. 514.

514. Cissa^a. ob. 590^a.

Edilwald the last of their race, ob. ^aA.D. 685.
and Suffex subdued by West-Saxons.

KINGS of EAST-SAXONS.

527. Erkenwin^a. ob. 587.

587. Skeda^a. ob. 594.

^mSigebald

^kSebert. ob. 616.

^m653. Sigebert. 660. Swithelm ^m^a.
bonus ob. 660. ob. 665. f. p.

^m709. Selred. ob. 746.

616. Seward. ob. 617^{k1}. Sexred^{k1}. ob. 617. f. p.

617 ^mSigebert. parvus
ob. 653.

665. ^mSebbi. refig. 694

665. ^mSigheri. ob. 683.

694. ^mSuefred

694. ^mSigehard.

700. Offa^m.

709. goes to Rome.

746. ^pSuithred^a.

^pSigeric al. Siric went to Rome, A.D. 799^a.

799. ^pSigered submitted to Egbert, A.D. 823.

Chron. Sax. at the year mentioned.

^a Bede II. 3. 5.

^b Malmf. l. i. c. 1. Brompton.

^c Bede IV. 26.

^d Evident. Ecclia. Cant. inter Decem Scriptores, p. 2213.

^e Mat. Westminster.

^f Brompton. p. 798. Bede IV. 16, 17.

^g Matt. Westminster.

^h Hen. Huntingdon & Malmf.

ⁱ Bede II. 3. 5.

^j Hunt. & Malmf. Brompton.

^k Malmf. Alured, Beverlac.

^l Bede III. 22. 30. IV. 11 V. 19.

^m Chron. Saxon.

ⁿ Alured Beverlac.

^o Flor. Wig.

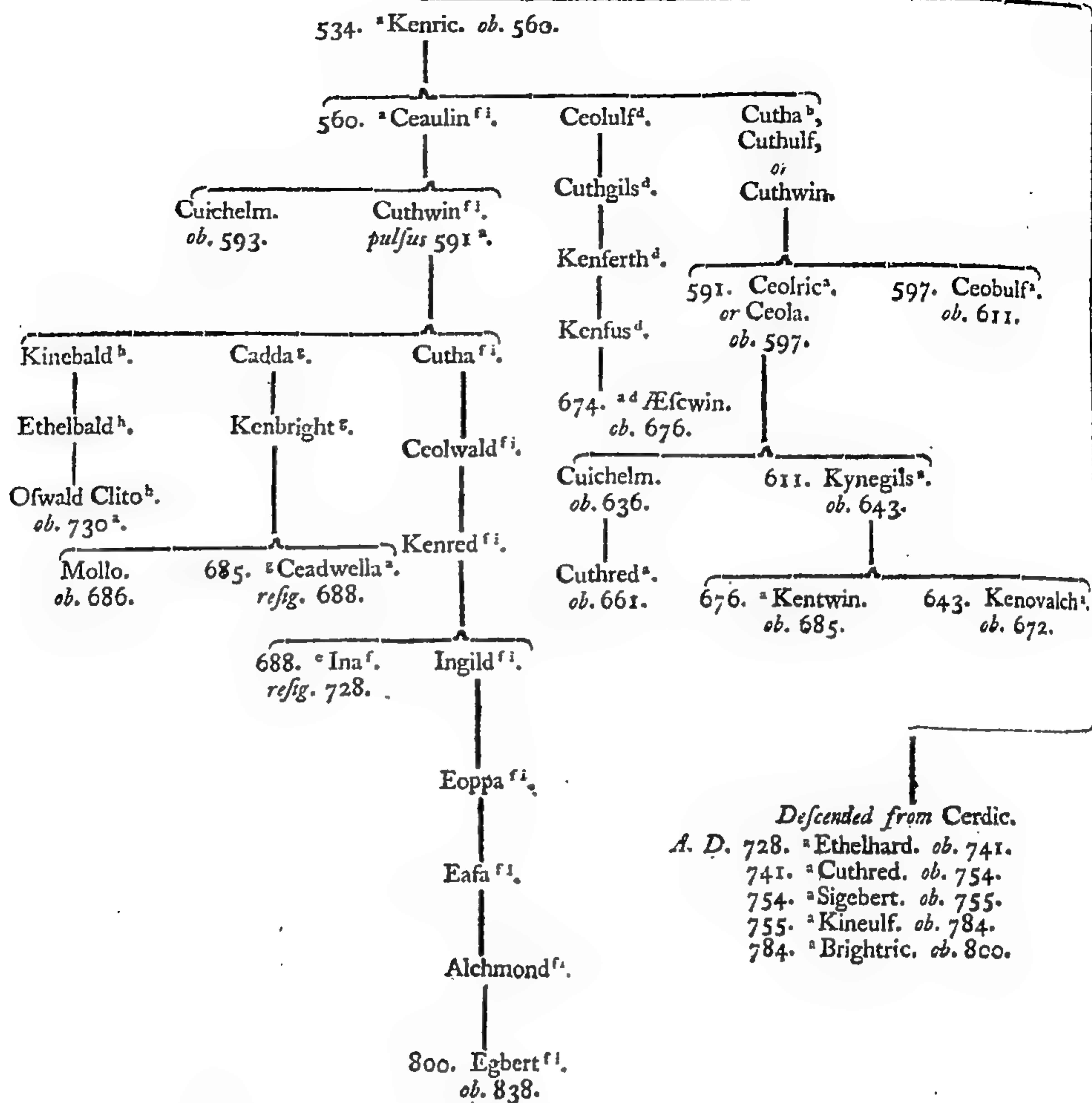
^p MS. Bibl. Cotton. Julius. c. 11. 3.

* F f f

KINGS

KINGS of WEST-SAXONS.

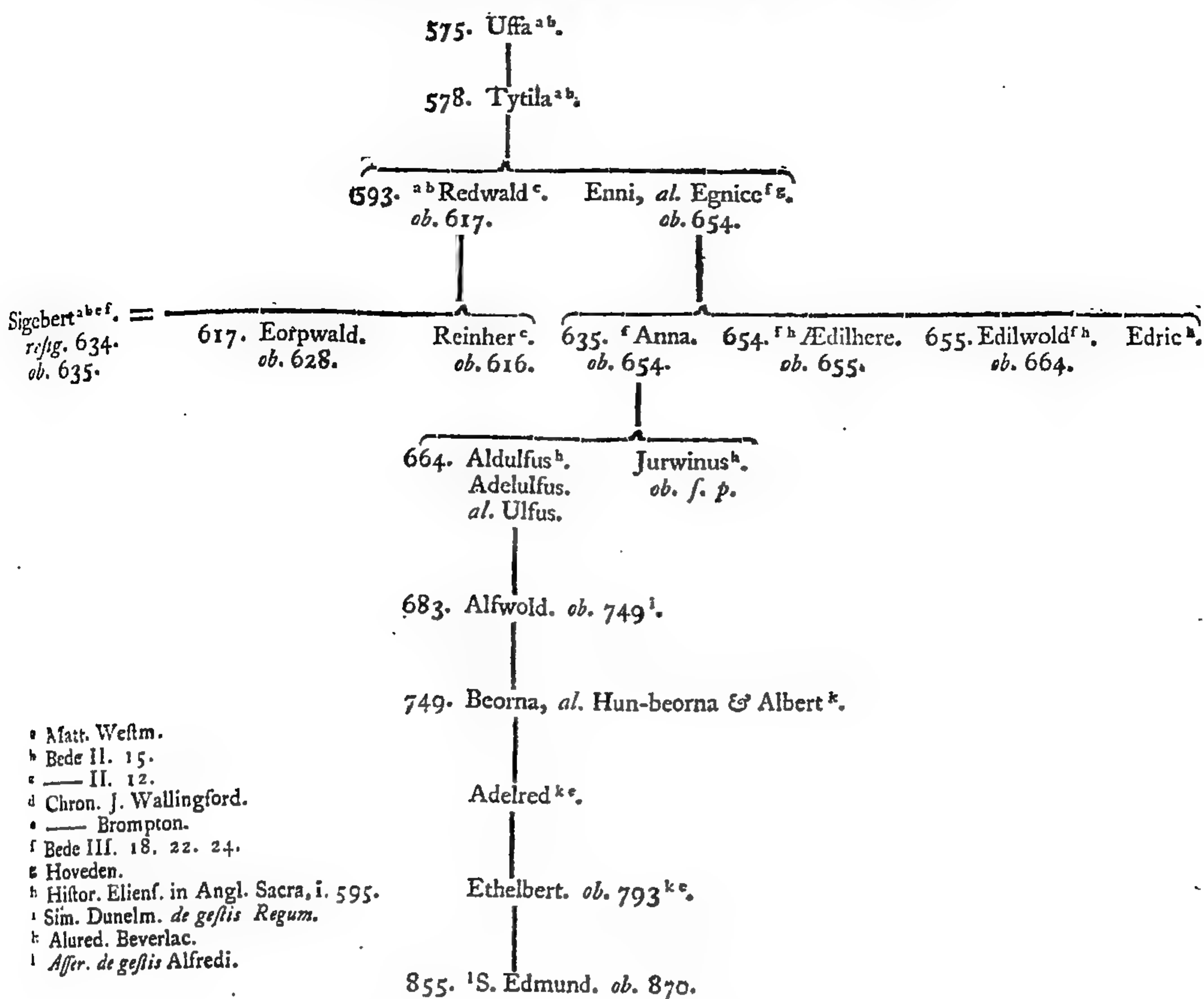
A. D. 519. ^aCerdic. ob. 534.



Descended from Cerdic.
A. D. 728. ^aEthelhard. ob. 741.
741. ^aCuthred. ob. 754.
754. ^aSigebert. ob. 755.
755. ^aKineulf. ob. 784.
784. ^aBrightric. ob. 800.

- ^a Chron. Saxon. at the year marked.
- ^b *Ib.* A. D. 568. 584.
- ^c *Ib.* A. D. 611.
- ^d *Ib.* A. D. 674.
- ^e *Ib.* A. D. 688.
- ^f *Ib.* A. D. 854. & *Sim. Dunelm.*
- ^g *Ib.* A. D. 685.
- ^h *Ib.* A. D. 728.
- ⁱ *Afferius de gestis Ælfredi:*

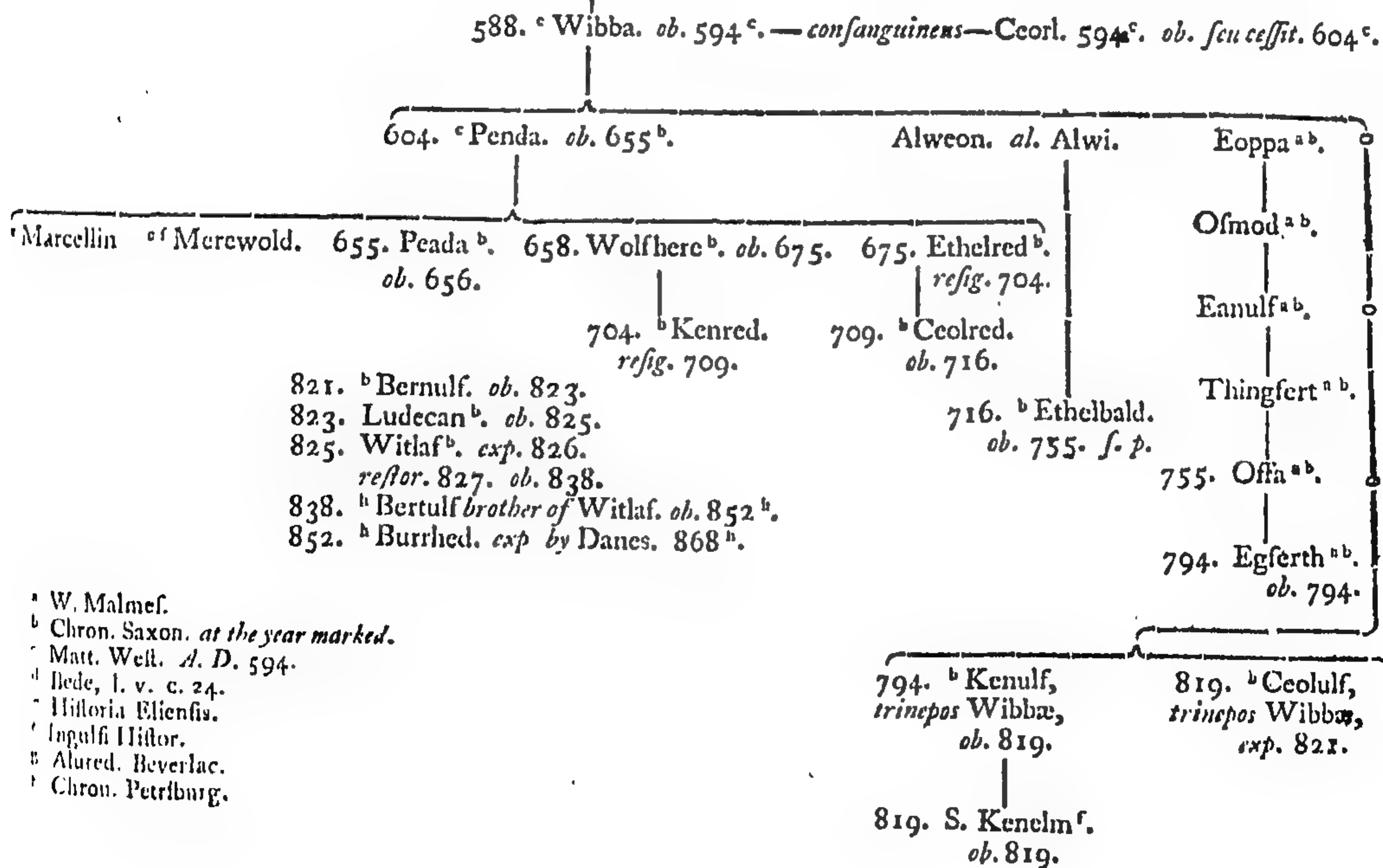
KINGS of EAST-ANGLES,



- ^a Matt. Westm.
- ^b Bede II. 15.
- ^c — II. 12.
- ^d Chron. J. Wallingford.
- ^e — Brompton.
- ^f Bede III. 18. 22. 24.
- ^g Hoveden.
- ^h Histor. Eliens. in Angl. Sacra, i. 595.
- ⁱ Sim. Dunelm. *de gestis Regum.*
- ^k Alured. Beverlac.
- ^l *Affer. de gestis Alfredi.*

KINGS of MERCIA

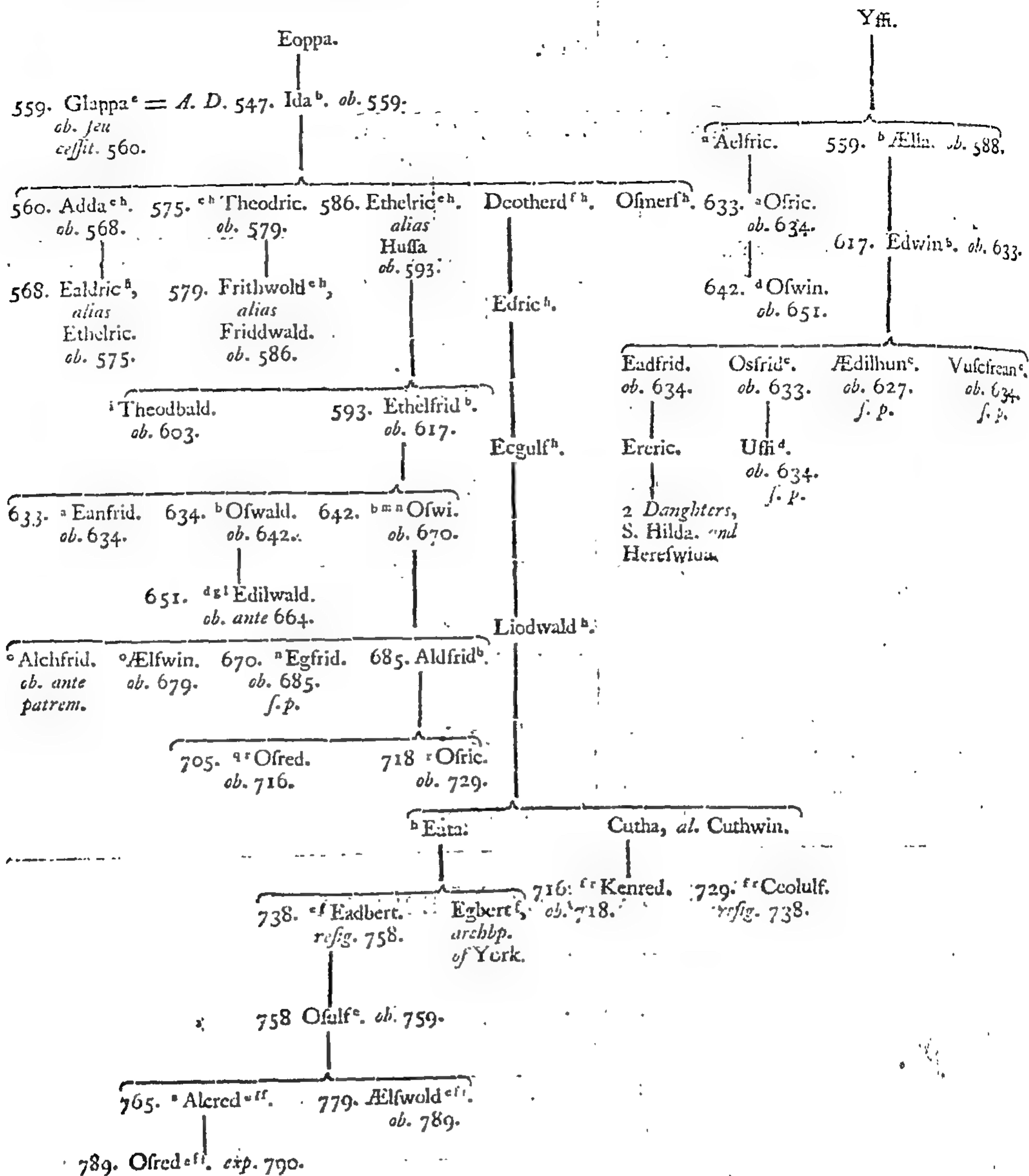
A. D. 582. ^aCrida. *ob.* 593^b.



- ^a W. Malmes.
- ^b Chron. Saxon. *at the year marked.*
- ^c Matt. Well. A. D. 594.
- ^d Bede, l. v. c. 24.
- ^e Historia Eliensis.
- ^f Ingulf's Histor.
- ^g Alured. Beverlac.
- ^h Chron. Petriburg.

GENEA-

GENEALOGY of the Kings of BERNICIA and NORTHUMBERLAND. KINGS of DEIRA.



USURPERS not descended of the Royal Family.

- 759. Ethelwold surnamed Moll, expelled 765.
- 774. Ethelred, exp. 779, restored 790, ob. 796.
- 796. Osulf^c, exp. 796.
- 796. Eardulf, exp. 806^c.
- 806. Aelfwold^c, exp. 808.
- 808. Eardulf, ob. 841.
- 841. Ethelred, ob. 850.
- 850. Osbert, exp. 863, ob. 867.
- 863. Aella, ob. 867.
- 867. Egbert set up by Danes, exp. 873^{ff}.
- 873. Ricard, exp. by Danes.

- ^a Bede III. 1.
- ^b Chron. Saxon. at the year marked.
- ^c Bede II. 14. 20.
- ^d Bede III. 14.
- ^e Simeon Dunelm. *de gestis Regum*.
- ^f Historia Ecclesiae Dunelm.
- ^{ff} Alured, Beverlac.
- ^g Chron. J. Wallingford.
- ^h Appendix I. *ad Nennium*.
- ⁱ Bede I. 34.
- ^k Bede III. 2. 9.
- ^l Bede III. 23.
- ^m Bede III. 14.
- ⁿ Bede IV. 5.
- ^o Bede III. 21. 24.
- ^p Bede IV. 26. & V. 19.
- ^q Vita Wilfridi.
- ^r Bede V. 22. 23.
- ^s Bede Continuatio.

ferred from their defeat at the battle of *Bincester*, to retreat to their first settlements in *Bernicia* (which comprehended *Northumberland* and all the eastern parts of *Scotland*, as far north as the *Firth* of *Forth*) for except the third, fourth, and fifth, all the rest of his battles with them were fought in some part or other of that country. But after the death of that heroic prince, and the terrible slaughter made of the bravest and most experienced warriors among the *Cumbrian Britains* in the fatal battle of *Camlan*, the *Northumbrian Saxons* found themselves in a condition to enlarge their territories, and had reason to think their possessions well secured. *Gwalchmai* had succeeded his brother *Modred* in his dominions; which lying beyond the wall of *Severus* to the north of it, ran from the skirts of *Northumberland* and the head of the river *Tippall* to the borders of what is now called the county of *Galloway*; but was soon driven out of them by the enemy, and obliged to retire to *Ros* in *Pembrokeshire*¹, where, as some say, he arrived grievously wounded in a battle which he lost against the *Saxons*, though he had made them pay dear for their victory. It is not unlikely but the *Northumbrians* improved the juncture, by reducing the territories of some other *British* toparchs in those quarters; the *Britains* of the north, in the weak and distracted condition they were in after *Modred's* insurrection, not being able to oppose their progress. *Ida*, descended of the third son of *Woden*, a nobleman of the first quality², as just, humane, polite, and generous in all his actions, as he was brave, active, vigorous, and invincible in war, seems to have been the chief General of the *Saxons* in the expeditions which produced those conquests. The *Saxons* would hardly have been in a condition to make them, were it not for the great body of forces which he brought from *Germany*, in a fleet of sixty ships, to *Flamborough* in *Yorkshire*³, where he landed *A. D.* 547: and marching northward, subdued the country of *Northumberland*, which had been the scene of so many battles in *Arthur's* time. It was this acquisition, and the lustre of his success, joined to the affection and esteem that his virtues gained him from all the world, which enabled him in that year⁴ to assume the title of King, and to found the kingdom of *Bernicia*. He made his ordinary residence in *Northumberland*; where he built and fortified the castle of *Bamburgh*⁵, and is reckoned the first king of the northern *Saxons*; no other of their princes, during his life, presuming to take that title: but he seems to have been possessed only of *Bernicia*, which, after a reign of twelve years spent in continual action, he left to his descendents. He was slain in battle by *Owen*, son of *Urian Rheged*, as *Taliessin* says in an elegy which he composed upon the death of this gallant *Britain*; to whose bravery, vigilance, and conduct his country had been chiefly indebted for its defence and security.

DURING *Ida's* life, some of those *Saxon* princes had reduced the *North* and *East-Ridings* of *Yorkshire* as far as the *Humber*: and upon his death, the most considerable of them, *Ælla*, the son of *Iffi*, descended, as well as *Ida*, from *Woden*, but by a different line⁶, assumed the title of king of *Deira*; under which name was afterwards comprehended the rest of that province, as well as *Lancashire*, when they came, in the next century, to be subdued by his successors. *Ælla's* reign seems to have been generally peaceable, being distinguished by no remarkable action: but he dying in *A. D.* 588⁷, and leaving a son only three years old, named *Edwin*, his dominions fell into the hands of a more active prince, who had married his daughter *Acca*. This was *Ethelfrid*, who had already ruled *Bernicia* two years, in the name of his father *Ethelric* (one of the sons of *Ida*) who, though he en-

¹ *Malmesb.* l. iii.
² *Malmesb.* l. i. c. 3.
³ *Chron. John Walingford.*
⁴ So the *Saxon Chronicle* and all our

historians affirm, except *M. Westminster*, who places this event *A. D.* 548.
⁵ *Ib. IV. Malmesb. Sax. Chron.*
⁶ *H. Hunt. M. Westm.*
⁷ *Chron. Sax.*

A. D. 560. joyed the title of king, was utterly incapable of government, being worn out with age and infirmities: and now uniting *Deira* to *Bernicia*, formed the kingdom of *Northumberland*. He is represented by *Bede*¹ as the prince who did the *Britains* greater mischief, and took from them more provinces, than any other of the *English* kings and chieftains. It is probable that he carried his conquests as far as the *Trent*; the place of the battle, in which he lost his life, affording reason to think that the counties of *Nottingham* and *Derby* were part of his dominions; though perhaps the only ones which had not belonged to his predecessor. For his *Cheeshire* expedition seems to be little more than an incursion; that county making no part of the *Northumbrian* kingdom: the *West-Riding* of *Yorkshire* was not reduced till *A. D. 620*, when *Edwin* conquered the the territory of *Elmet*² lying about *Leeds*, and drove out *Ceretic*, the lord of that country; nor was *Lancashire*³ subdued till about fifty years after, by *Egfrid* the son of *Ofwi*.

Divisions among the *Britains* after *Arthur's* death.

XI. NOTHING contributed more to these conquests of the *Saxons*, than the divisions that reigned among the *Britains*. There were an infinite number of little princes or lords of territories within the kingdom of *Cumbria*; all of them indeed subject to one monarch, whose usual residence was at *Al-cluyd* or *Dunbritton*: but being descended of *Coil* before-mentioned, or otherwise branched out from the royal family, and enjoying large appanages according to the custom of *Gavelkind*, their spirits were too great to be easily governed and kept in order. They could bring, each of them, two or three thousand men into the field; having their particular clans ever ready to obey their orders, to defend their persons, and to fight their quarrels; in the performance of which duties to their chief the main of their religion seemed to consist. They had taken different sides in *Modred's* affair; and though nothing is said of their dissensions before the battle of *Camlan*, yet their animosities ran very high afterwards: and it appears from the ancient *British* writers, that they were much more ready to draw their swords upon one another, than employ them against the common enemy. They broke out into wars among themselves, and into rebellions against their king, upon the most trifling and ridiculous occasions; for nothing can be more so than a lark's nest, and a couple of dogs, which yet was the cause of the battle⁴ of *Arderyth*, fought *A. D. 577*, by *Aeddon ap Gafran*, styled *Vraydog*, i. e. the treacherous, and *Gwendoleu*, son of *Keidiaw ap Arthwr*, a descendent of *Coil*, against *Rydderch ap Tydwal*, surnamed *Hael*, i. e. the liberal, king of *Cumbria*; in which the latter gained the victory, and *Gwendoleu* was slain with abundance of his followers; among which were four brothers of *Merlinus Caledonius*. *Aeddon*, who was welsh-uncle to *Rydderch*, made his escape to the *Isle of Man*, and his son *Gafran* took refuge in *Ireland*; from whence they never returned; their lands, some of which lay in the forest of *Kelydon*, being forfeited for their disloyalty. It may shew something of the humour and principles of those people to observe, that though *Rydderch* is extolled, by the ancient author of the *Triades*, for his magnificence and generosity, and appears from *Merlin*, *Talieffin*, the *old laws of the Britains*, and the *Lives of St. Kentigern* and *St. Asaph*, to have been a very religious and deserving prince: yet the attachment which the clans of *Gwendoleu* and *Gafran* shewed to their chiefs in this rebellion, the one in holding out and fighting daily for six weeks after their lord's death in order to revenge it; the other in following theirs to *Ireland*, and living with him there in exile, gained them the honour of passing in common repute, and being celebrated in the *Triades*, for two of the three royal clans of *Britannia*; as if fidelity to their immediate chieftains was the only loyalty they understood.

¹ *II. Eccl. l. i. c. ult.*

² *Append. I. ad Nennium.*

³ See *Camden* in *Lancashire*.

⁴ *Mr. Jaughan's Dissert. on the British Chronicle*

THE feuds and quarrels between particular chieftains and their clans were not the only grievance under which the *Cumbrian* and *Strath-cluyd Britains* laboured: the crown, which was the principal means of their union, and whose power was necessary to keep the others in order, and to prevent the violences and extremities to which the parties at variance might in their fury proceed, if unrestrained by a lawful superior, was itself in a very precarious situation. The large territories given, according to the *British* custom, to the younger princes of the royal blood, and the great number of vassals thereby attached to their persons, and engaged to follow them in their enterprizes, put it in the power of two or three of these, united together, to surprize, depose, expel, or set up what monarch they pleased, whenever they found an opportunity favourable to their purposes. *Rydderch Hael*¹, mentioned in the *Dialogue of Merlin Caledonius* with his sister *Gwendydd* (in which the succession of the kings of *Cumbria* is regularly deduced) as predecessor to *Morcant Mawr*, son of *Saturnine*, was in his younger years driven out of the realm by the latter; one of whose accomplices (as the author of the *Life of St. Asaph* calls the other rebels) was *Aeddon the treacherous* above-mentioned, who is particularly spoken of in the *Triades*, as the person that took *Caer-Alcluyd*, and destroyed all that he found in *Rydderch's* palace, and the country adjoining. *Rydderch* being forced to fly for refuge to *Ireland*, the impious *Morcant* (as he is called in the fragment of *St. Asaph's* life extant in *Coch-Asaph*) mounted the throne: and as *St. Kyndeyrn*, commonly called *Kentigern*, bishop of *Glasgow*, continued in all appearance loyal to his rightful, though exiled prince; and reproved the usurper for his crimes, he persecuted that holy man in a cruel manner, and forced him to retire into *Wales* for safety. This usurpation weakened exceedingly the power of the northern *Britains*, at a time when they stood in need of all their united forces to stop the progress of the *Saxons*; it inflamed the former differences between the lesser toparchs of the country; it created new factions, and exposed the people to all the enormous evils of a disputed title to the crown. A rent was made in the kingdom itself; for *Morcant* only got possession of that part of it which lay in the west of *Scotland*, and was inhabited by the *Strath-Cluyd Britains*; whilst the *Cumbrians*, who dwelt from the *Wall* southward as far as the *Ribble* in *Lancashire*, had recourse to *Urien*, lord of *Rheged*, for protection. This prince had been bred in *Arthur's* court, and was one of his knights: he had great experience in war, and great power in the country by the largeness of his territory, and the number of his vassals; he was still greater by his reputation: and being equally wise and valiant, defended them as well from the attempts of *Morcant*, as from the invasions of the *Saxons*. His noble qualities are celebrated by the pens of *Lhowarch-Hên* (who was his cousin-german) *Taliessin*, and the author of the *Triades*: and the same writers do not fail to set forth the valour and conduct of his many sons, who bravely seconded their father's efforts, serving under him in all he wars he had with *Ida* and other *Saxon* princes.

It may be of some use, to settle the time of this revolution in the government of the northern *Britains*: which I take to have happened either a little before, or presently after the death of the great *Arthur*. *Kentigern*, son of *Owen ap Urien*, a *Strath-Cluyd* nobleman, by *Thameta*, daughter of *Lotho* the popular, king of the *Picts*, was bishop of *Glasgow* in the reign of *Gurtbmyll Wledig*, king of the north *Britains*, *Rydderch's* predecessor, and cotemporary with *Arthur*. This we learn from the *Triades*: and it appears from *his life*, that he retired into *Wales* during the lives of *St. David*, with whom he made some stay at *Menevia*, and of *Cathwallain*, uncle to *Maelgun Gwynedd*; who having his appanage in *Denbighshire*,

¹ *Ibid.*

A. D. 560.

gave him *Elgwy*, now called *St. Asaph*, for his residence, where he founded a great seminary; which, as his scholars lived under certain rules prescribed by him, was, in the language of those days, termed a monastery. *Kentigern* was there settled with his disciples, when *St. David* died, and consequently before *A. D.* 546; which is generally assigned for this last saint's death; though it should be rather put in *A. D.* 544¹, when the first of *March* fell on a *Tuesday*. As *Morcant's* persecution of *Kentigern* followed the expulsion of *Rydderch*, this event could not happen later than *A. D.* 543², though it might earlier; since it was in the younger years of *Maelgun*, that he killed *Cathwallain*, seized his territories, and took up his residence at *Diganwy*. *Morcant* enjoyed the crown till his death, when *Kydderch* was restored, and recalled *St. Kentigern*; who, leaving his seminary to the care of *St. Asaph*, returned to his see, taking with him some hundreds of his scholars. The death of *Daniel* bishop of *Bangor* (where he had founded a school for the instruction of youth)³ which happened between *A. D.* 542 and *A. D.* 545, was probably the occasion of their being so very numerous. The time of his return to *Glasgow*, one of the good consequences of *Rydderch's* restoration, is generally agreed to be about *A. D.* 560: nor can it well be placed later, since he had sent several of his disciples to preach the gospel in the *Orcades*, in *Norway* and *Iceland*, before *St. Columba* came over to *Scotland* in *A. D.* 565, in order to convert the northern *Picts*; on which occasion he had a conference with *Kentigern*⁴.

THE views of usurpers being generally confined to their own ends, without any concern for the good of their people, it doth not appear that *Morcant Mawr ap Saturnine* took any measures to oppose the *Saxons*: but *Rydderch* being restored is mentioned with honour by the ancient author in *Nennius*, as fighting against them with great valour, as well as his successors, *Guallauc* and *Morcant Mwynfawr*; the first probably his son, the latter certainly his brother, and spoken of with great regard in the *Triades*. But none of these princes distinguished themselves so much in defence of their country as *Urien* beforementioned; the same author saying, that, after several engagements with various success, he at last prevailed so far against *Theodric* a son of *Ida*, who came to the crown of *Northumberland* about *A. D.* 571 (or perhaps in *A. D.* 567, for there is an error in the received order of succession of the *Northumbrian* princes) as to force him to fly into *Holy island* for safety. It is very plain, that the *Britains* were the invaders on this occasion, or had gained great advantages over their enemies, since they had pierced into the heart of their dominions; had driven them to the very ocean; and invested their prince in his strongest fortrefs. What might have been the consequences of this siege, if it had not been interrupted by an unexpected blow, which came not from a *Saxon* but a *British* hand, is uncertain: for *Urien*, the glory of his country, who had braved death so often in the field, and sought it in vain among the thickest of his enemies, fell at last, in the midst of his own men, by treachery⁵. Whether *Rydderch* imagined, that he was any obstruction to the *Cumbrians* returning to their former allegiance, as the *Strath-chyd Britains* had done (for it doth not appear that he recovered the sovereignty of *Cumberland*, till after the death of *Urien*, none of whose sons succeeded to their father's power or credit) or whether *Morcant's* furious animosity against him did not arise from any political motive, but, as the author above quoted says, from meer envy, on account of his superior merit, glory, and military skill, wherein he excelled all the princes of

¹ *Usher's Ant. Brit.* c. 14.² *Wharton De* *A. D.* 560.³ *Ib.* p. 274.⁴ *Vit. S. Kentigern.*⁵ *Usher's Ant. Brit.* c. 15. p. 358.⁵ See *Laugban's Diss. on British Chronol.*

the age, *Urien* had not beleaguered the place above three days, before he was basely assassinated, at the instigation of *Morcant* brother to *Rydderch*. The names¹ of the two assassins suborned to commit this execrable deed, who were both *Britains*, and served in his troops, are preserved in the *Triades*; where this is reckoned to be one of the three villainous murders committed in *Britain*, and which contributed most to its ruin. It was not many years afterwards, viz. *A. D.* 584, that *Gurgi* and *Predur*, nephews to *Urien* by his sister *Eurddal*, and sons of *Elifer*, or *Oliver*, distinguished by the greatness of his clan, and the number of his followers, having appointed a day of battle with *Eata*, a *Saxon* prince, at *Cacrgreu* in the north, marched to the place with a great army of their friends, relations, vassals and dependants: but the night before the battle, the greatest part of their men stole away privately and forsook their lords; who, too brave to fly, notwithstanding the inequality of the party, were there slain by their enemies. This desertion is, by the author of the *Triades*, imputed not to the fears, but to the infidelity of their forces; on which account that army, composed of their followers, was branded with an undelible mark of reproach, and conveyed down to posterity under the infamous character of being one of the three treacherous or disloyal clans of the isle of *Britain*. Such was the fate of that noble race of warriors, such the unhappy consequences of the feuds and animosities that reigned among the northern *Britains*.

THE *Britains* of *Wales* were as much divided, as those of the *North*: and, being well enough secured by the *Severne* against the attempts of the *Saxons*, were more at leisure to pursue their private quarrels. Their country was distributed into a great number of little principalities, or territories belonging to several chieftains; who had each his particular clan of kinsmen and followers entirely devoted to his service; but all of them holding their lands under the prince of *North-Wales*, who was ever considered as their direct superior; to whom they owed the subjection and duties of vassals, as the learned Mr. *Vaughan* has clearly proved in his *British Antiquities revived*². The prince reigning in the times we speak of was *Maelgun*³ *Gwynedh*, the lineal heir and eldest descendent of *Cunedba-Wledig*; who had, at⁴ the end of the fourth or in the beginning of the fifth century⁵, driven the *Irish Scots* with great slaughter out of all the settlements they had made in *North-Wales*; and from one or other of whose eight sons all the lords of that country, as well as the princes of *Cardigan*, *Demetia*, *Glamorgan* and other toparchs in *South-Wales*, derived their descent. He is accordingly mentioned in the *Triades*⁵ as being the sovereign at the same time, that St. *David* was primate, of *Venedotia*, during the reign of *Arthur*; *Gurthmyll* being then likewise king, and *Kentigern* bishop of the *Cumbrian Britains*. He had received a very good education (as *Gildas* says) under the elegant instructor of almost all Britain, a character which seems to point out *Iltutus*; but being naturally very wicked in his inclinations, he fell into all the vices and iniquities imputed to him by that author. There was a season when his crimes, which were very enormous gave him some remorse; and fancying he repented of them, he resolved to renounce the world, and retire into a monastery, to pass the rest of his days in a

¹ Viz. *Dyornwall* the son of *Meneddwg* and *Llewun Llowdino*.

² Printed at Oxford, quarto, *A. D.* 1662.

³ *Cunedba* was his atavous, or great grandfather's grandfather. *Nennii Append.* i.

⁴ The ancient author published at the end of *Nennius*, says it was an hundred and forty six years before *Maelgun* began his reign, without distinguishing whether he means this prince's reign over

Venedotia, or his being acknowledged chief king of the *Britains* in general. This last event happening *A. D.* 564, the victories of *Cunedba* should, according to this computation, be placed in *A. D.* 414. but if the time is computed from his ruling over *Venedotia*, they ought to be placed at least twenty five years earlier.

⁵ See Mr. *Vaughan's Diff. on the British Chronol.*

A. D. 560. course of devotion and religious exercises: but being soon tired of a monastick life, he re-assumed his crown, and abandoned himself to all his former impetives. This his renunciation of the world, is placed by the *British* chronology in *A. D. 552*, and it is generally agreed that he died either *A. D. 565*, or *A. D. 567*, but rather in the former of those years; an opinion, which is strongly confirmed by a passage in the *Cottonian* manuscript of *Gildas*, added by the author in the time that intervened between *A. D. 564*¹, when he first published his epistle *de excidio Britannicæ*, and the year of his death, which happened *A. D. 570*, according to the *Usher Annals*, or on *A. D. 565*, in the monastery of *Buis* near *Vannes*, according to others². The passage, referring to the time that *Maelgun* enjoyed the dignity of monarch of *Britain*, after he had been recognized as such in a general council of all the states and princes of *Wales*, says *that he continued in these sins five years*, and dying without *legitimate issue*, left his crown to another³. It is no wonder that *Gildas*, writing in the reign of so dissolute a prince, whose example, encouraging nothing but excess, adultery, incest, rapine, violence, and corruption, must have an unhappy influence over all orders of men, subject to his government, should find reason to reprove the vices and irregularities of most of the clergy preferred by that tyrant⁴: for he had doubtless his eye on such of them as lived in *Maelgun's* particular territories; the sees of *South-Wales* being at that time filled with excellent prelates, whose lives *Gildas* himself desired to copy, and who were too careful of their pastoral charge to allow the least disorders in their dioceses.

MAELGUN, wicked and brutal as he was, did not want either parts, or courage, or military skill; though he employed them ill, not to oppose the com-

¹ *Ib. Usher's Ant. Brit.*

² *Fleury's Hist. Eccl.* l. xxxiv. p. 559.

³ It may be proper to take notice of some chronological marks for the better clearing of what is further to be said of *Maelgun*, and of the *Welsh* affairs. It is universally agreed, that the synod of *Breui*, was held *A. D. 519*; in which *Dubricius* resigned his see, on account of his great age, and retired to lead a monastick life in the isle of *Bardsey*; where he died three years after. He was succeeded in his archiepiscopal dignity by *St. David*; who choosing, according to the taste of that age, a wild solitary place, out of the world, as it were, for his abode, the primacy of *Wales*, was on that occasion removed from *Caerleon*, to *Menevia*; sees, usually taking their denomination from the place of the bishop's residence. *St. Teliau* succeeded *Dubricius* in the church of *Landaff*, and *Paternus* was appointed bishop of *Cardiganshire*; in which county he resided at a town called from him *Lhan-Patern-Paver* for twenty one⁴ years: and then being pressed to return to his native country *Armorica*, was there made bishop of *Guenet*, or *Vannes*; where he lived to a great age, and subscribed with *St. Sampson* (as *Usher* thinks) to the third council of *Paris*, held *A. D. 557*. This learned chronologist does not fix the time of the *yellow sickness*; a pestilential distemper, which is mentioned by abundance of ancient writers, as laying *Wales* almost desolate, more particularly than by saying, it happened⁵ either in the time of *St. David*, or in that of his successor, who was *Genau* or *Kinoc*, translated to *Menevia* from *Lhan-Patern* where he had succeeded *Paternus*. But it was plainly in the time of the latter, since *Maelgun* died of it; as we

are assured by the ancient⁶ register of *Landaff*; and it raged with such violence, that *Teliau* with great numbers of his flock, thought it necessary for the safety of their lives to fly to *Armorica*; where they were well received and entertained at *Dol* by *Sampson*. In their passage thither, they were kindly treated by *Geremius* or *Gercint*, prince of *Cornwall*; and touching in their return at his town of *Dingerein*, they found him on his death-bed at the point of extremity. *Teliau* stayed in *Armorica* seven years and as many months; and at his departure thence (which seems to be not long before *St. Sampson's* death, which happened on⁷ *July 28, A. D. 565*) was much importuned by king *Budic* to succeed *Sampson* in the see of *Dol*. *Sampson* finding himself on the brink of the grave, made the same request, but in vain: and *Dol*, upon *Teliau's* refusal, was after his departure, on the death of *Sampson*, given to *St. Magloire*; who appears from the *Gallia Christiana* to have been in possession of it in *A. D. 568*. *Teudrick* (whom we shall have occasion soon to mention) was king of *Glamorgan* at the time of *Teliau's* return to *Landaff*; where in a little time after, he consecrated his nephew *Hismael* (son of *Buatic*) bishop of *St. David's*, then vacant by the death of *Kenan*, who had probably been carried off by the pestilence; and was succeeded himself by *Oudacius*, another of his nephews; in whose time *Mouric* to whom his father *Teudrick* had resigned the crown, made the grant of *Merther-Tevdric* or *Matherne* to the church of *Landaff*; which is mentioned by *Godwin*⁸, and inserted in the ancient register of that church.

⁴ *Tyrannico ritu.*

⁵ *Vita S. Paterni. Usher's Brit. Ant.* c. 14. p. 275.

⁶ *Fleury's Hist. Eccl. Ed. Paris*, l. xxxiv. p. 557.

⁷ *Ib.* c. 5.

⁸ *In Vita St. Teliani*, c. 5.

⁹ *De Principibus Angliæ in Epist. Landav.*

mon enemy, but to oppress his vassals and ruine his neighbours. He was perpetually waisting and over-running their territories; depriving many chieftains of their lands, and others of their lives; pillaging *Man*, and all the isles that lay off the western coast of *Britain*; and doing infinite mischiefs to his countrymen. He had begun these practises whilst *Arthur* lived; for it was before *A. D.* 540, that he interrupted ^{*A. D.* 560.} *Paternus* in his pious work of building churches in *Cardiganshire*, and invaded it with an army in order to subdue the country. Upon *Arthur's* death, he pretended to take that supereminent authority over all the states of *Britain*, which the other's personal merit and great qualities had procured him: but found no disposition in any of the princes, to put themselves under the command of a tyrant. Force was the onely expedient that could extort from them a compliance: and he harassed them with civil wars, till at last, under pretence of recovering the countries which had been taken by the *Saxons*, who were now advanced near the borders of *Wales*, he prevailed with the *Welsh* ² princes to meet in a general assembly, and choose him monarch, general, or governor of all *Britain*. It doth not appear that any of the *Britains*, either of the north or of the west of *England*, were concerned in this election, or present at the assembly; which *Mr. Humphrey Lloyd*, upon the credit of a most ancient book of *British* laws, places in *A. D.* 560. It appears from the same authority, and the occasion of the assembly, that *London* was then fallen into the hands of the *East-Saxons*; which agrees very well with what *Gildas* ⁴ hints of *Verolam's* being so too at the time of writing his Epistle. It is very probable that *Rydderch*, king of the *Strath-Chyde Britains*, did not agree or submit to this election; it not being easy to assign any other cause for a quarrel between him and *Maelgun*, or his bastard son ⁵ *Rin*, who commanded the *Welsh* forces, as the *British Antiquities* say, in the war against *Rydderch*; and died three years after his father.

THIS is that *Maelgun*, of whom *Gildas* speaks, as advanced higher than all the princes or generals of *Britain*, and as having attained at last the royal sovereignty, to which he so ardently aspired; though his dignity did not exempt him from the lash of the author's pen, any more than some lesser toparchs; as *Aurelius Conan*, *Vortipor*, *Cuneglaf*, or (as *Sir J. Pryse*, taking him to be of the *Cunethian* race, calls him) *Cunedag*, and *Constantine*. These were all chieftains, *Vortipor* in *Pembrokeshire*, the rest in some quarter or other of *Britain*, and all living at the same time when *Gildas* wrote: yet the fabulous author of the *British History* hath advanced three of them to the rank of monarchs, and made them succeed one another, in order to fill up the chasm that would else have been left in the succession of his imaginary monarchy between *Arthur* and *Maelgun*. There is nothing worthy of notice said of any of these, but *Constantine*; whom *Gildas* represents as a native of *Cornwall*, not as prince of the country; though he might have some territory in it, as the younger branches of the royal family always had among the *Britains* ⁶. The chief crime imputed to him, is the murder of two royal youths in a church, in their mother's presence, close by the officiating priest, whose vestments were stained with their blood, and of two noblemen, who had the charge of their education, and had distinguished themselves above other warriors by their bravery; being invincible in the field, though they now fell basely by the hands of assassins, as they were offering up their devotions at the altar. The place where this horrid murder was committed, makes *Gildas* charge it with sacrilege; and its being committed by a near relation, is the reason why he treats it as a *parricide*; the same

¹ *Vita Paterni*, and *Usser's Ant. Brit.* c. 14.

² *Mr. Vaughan's Dissert. on Brit. Chronol.*

³ *Sir J. Pryse's Defens. Hist. Brit.*

⁴ N. 8. ⁵ *Vaughan, ib.*

⁶ The author of his life, in *Bollandus*, says, he was the son of *Paternus*, a *Cornish* chieftain or king, as such chieftains were generally styled in the territories of their appanage.

A. D. 560. term, which he useth afterwards with regard to *Maelgun's* murder of his nephew, whose wife he had debauched. *Constantine* perhaps stood in the same relation to the young princes; and might be, during their minority, according to the custom of the *Britains*, their tutor, in the sense of the word, as still used in the *Highlands* of *Scotland*; where the next kinsman, or heir of the chief, hath in such case the administration or leading of the clan, till he comes to age to head it himself. His view, in all appearance, was, to seize the inheritance of the young princes: but he seems to have been disappointed either by the resentment and opposition of the nobility, or by his own repentance; which *Gildas* mentions, and which, as others say, made him retire first to the monastery of *St. David's*, and afterwards to *Ireland*; from whence in the year after *Gildas* wrote his Epistle (in which, he says, he knew him to be still living) he went with *St. Columba* to *Scotland*, to assist him in the conversion of the *northern Piets*; a work in which he is said to have been very serviceable, and to have suffered martyrdom in *A. D. 576*¹. The young princes killed, were the sons not of *Modred*, who had no possessions in the west of *England*, but probably of *Caradoc Ureich-uras*, who was king or chief prince of the *Cornish Britains* in the latter end of king *Arthur's* reign, as is very well attested by the ancient author of the *Triades*. What renders this the more probable, is, that *Caradoc* was not succeeded by any of his children, and his crown descended to a collateral branch of the royal family; to *Gerentius* or *Gereint*, who was the son of *Erbin*, and king of *Cornwall* in the time of *Talieffin*. There is, in the works of that chief of the ancient *British* poets, an elegy upon the death of this *Gereint*²; whom he extols for his valour, and who being one of *Arthur's* knights, had served with great reputation under him, and was also related to that famous monarch. This relation could be only by the female side; because, as *Talieffin* says *Gereint* was the son of *Erbin*, so the ancient life of *St. Keby*³ shews us, that this saint, who was the son of *Solomon*, chieftain of a *Cornish* clan, and prince of a tract of country between the rivers *Liver* and *Tamar* in *Cornwall*, and retired out of devotion to *Anglesey*, where about *A. D. 450*, he built the churches of *Lhan-kybi* or *Holy head*, and *Lbandaver-gwyr*, was also the father of *Erbin*, and grandfather of *Gereint*. All this agrees with what hath been observed out of the life of *St. Teliau*, that *Gereint*⁴ was the king of *Cornwall*, when this pious bishop went to *Armorica* on the breaking out of the yellow pestilence in *Wales*, and died near eight years afterwards in a very advanced age, at the time of *Teliau's* return.

WE may observe further in this passage of *Gildas*, an instance of that old custom which the *British* princes had of committing their several children to different persons among the nobility and gentry of their country to be educated. *Giraldus Cambrensis*⁵ complains of it, as very pernicious in its consequences; the foster-fathers being so many partisans retained on the side of their pupils; each labouring with all his might and interest to advance his own, in prejudice of the others, upon the death of the father. Hence arose those quarrels and jealousies between brothers, which cost them so often their lives or eye-sight; hence there appeared much greater affection, and friendships were generally found more sincere and lasting between foster-brothers, than between natural ones; these last rarely giving any testimony of theirs during their joint lives; though ready enough to revenge one another's death, if killed by others. A great deal of this sentiment, with regard to foster-brothers, still subsists among the *Irish* and the *Highlanders* of *Scotland*; and it is a clear proof how much fashion, interest, and a popular notion, so generally encouraged as to become a principle, can get the better of nature, and her strongest

¹ *Vita S. Constantini in Bolland. Act. Sanctor. Mart. xi.*
² Sir J. Pryse's *Def. Hist. Brit.*
³ *Cotton. Bibl. Vespasian. A. xiv. 3.*

⁴ *Vita S. Theliewi in Registr. Landav.*
⁵ *De Illandabil. Wallior, c. 4.*

obligations. This was the source likewise of an infinite number of confederacies among the nobility and gentry; which produced terrible disturbances in the country, and proved occasions of those civil wars that infested *Wales* in all ages of its ancient government, and prevented a brave people from employing their swords to stop the progress of a common enemy.

A. D. 560.

XII. THE *Britains* of those parts were so entirely taken up with their intestine broils, that there is no account of any engagement of theirs with the *Saxons*, till their country came to be invaded. The first attempt of that kind seems to be made by the *West-Saxons*, soon after the battle of *Derbam*¹, in which three kings, who seem by their names, of *Conmail*, *Condiden*, and *Farinmail* to have been *Welsh*, were slain: and *Ccaulin* being, by the surrender of *Bath*, *Cirencester*, and *Gloucester*, master of all the country about those cities, and along the *Severne*, might easily send forces over this river to plunder *Monmouthshire*. The last of these *British* kings, was probably *Fernvail*, king of that county, styled King of *Gwent*², in his grant of *Trylec* to the church of *Landaff*, in the time of *Oudoceus* successor to *Teilau*. The time of his donation agrees with that of the battle; the situation of his country renders it likely, that he should assist his next neighbours; and his death might naturally tempt *Ccaulin* to revenge that assistance, by sending a party to plunder his territories, struck perhaps with terror on that occasion, and destitute of a proper head to oppose an invasion. When the *Saxons* landed in *Monmouthshire*, we hear of no king of *Gwent* taking the field against them: but *Mouric*, king of *Glamorgan*, levying an army, sent to his father *Tewdric*, who had lately resigned the crown to him, and who had ever been victorious in war, to take upon him the command; which he did with great reluctance. The old prince, quitting his monastery, put himself at the head of the *British* forces; routed the *Saxons* at *Tynterne* on the *Wye*; and cut most of their army in pieces: but receiving a mortal wound in the action, died at a place five miles off, seated near the confluence of that river with the *Severne*, and called *Mertbir-Tewdric*, now *Matherne*, which his son thereupon gave to the church of *Landaff*. His corpse fresh, unconsumed, the gash in his head as plain as if lately made, was there found about a hundred and forty years ago by bishop *Godwin*³, as he was getting the tomb repaired.

Battles of *Tynterne* and *Chester*.

THE next attempt made upon the *Britains* of *Wales*, was by *Ethelfrid*, king of *Northumberland*; who over-running the borders as far as *Chester*, was there opposed by *Brechmael Yfeythrog*, king of *Powis*, with a body of men hastily got together; not having time to call in the assistance of *Cadvan*, grandson of *Beli ap Rhun*, king of *Guyneth*; whose ordinary residence being at *Caernarvon* lay too remote from *Shrewsbury*, the chief seat at that time of the princes of *Powis*. The good old religious prince, trusting more to the prayers of the clergy, than to the force of his tumultuary army; and perhaps expecting some such deliverance as had been formerly obtained in that country by *St. Germain's Alleluja* victory, was in his march from thence joined by a body of students, bred up in the famous seminary of *Bangor* in *Flintshire*; where they were fitted for the service of the church by a regular course of devotion, and study of the holy scriptures. These were unarmed; their business being only to pray for the success of the *Britains* during the action: and were posted at a distance from the other forces, in a place which was deemed to be very secure: but *Ethelfrid*, observing this corps, and learning their defenceless condition, fell upon them first, and putting (as *Bede*⁴ says) one thousand two hundred of them to the sword, found little resistance from the rest of the *British* army. Such was

¹ Chron. Saxon, A. D. 577.² Regist. Landav. Epist. Landav.³ De Præsul. Angl. in⁴ H. E. l. ii. c. 2. The *British* writers say two hundred, and that they were sent in procession on an embassy to sue for peace.

A. D. 540. the issue of the battle of *Chester*, which happened in *A. D.* 593, according to the old *British Chronology*. Some writers indeed place it in *A. D.* 603, not considering that this was the year in which *Bede* expressly¹ says, that *Ethelfrid* was employed in a very different part of his dominions to oppose an invasion of the *Dalreudian Scots*, the first that they made into *England*, and the last that they ever attempted, being discouraged by their ill success; their king *Ædan* being routed, and his whole army, in a manner, cut in pieces; though they had the better of the wing commanded by *Theodbold*, *Ethelfrid's* brother, who was killed in the action. This battle was fought at *Daegstan*, probably *Dawston*, near *Jedburgh* in *Northumberland*: and seems to have been later in time than that of *Chester*; because *Bede* observes, that it was *Ethelfrid's* successes against the *Britains*, which moved *Ædan* to that expedition. The same author however in another place, without mentioning any particular year, says² it happened a good while after the death of *Augustine*; a prediction of whose he fancies it served to fulfil: and this, as that first converter of the *Kentish Saxons* died³ May 26, *A. D.* 605, hath induced the generality of writers to assign *A. D.* 607, for the battle of *Chester*, though two years is rather too short a space of time to be reconciled with *Bede's* expression, and the *Ulster Annals* place it in *A. D.* 613⁴. But⁵ I look upon these different dates to be inconsistent with the relation of the battle; in the substance of which all the world agrees;

¹ *Ib.* l. i. c. 34. *Chron. Sax.*

² *H. E.* l. ii. c. 2. *multo tempore.*

³ *Ib.* l. ii. c. 3. & not. ⁴ *Usher's Antiq. Brit.*

536.

⁵ There is a great deference certainly due to *Bede*, when he writes of his own knowledge, and treats of the *Northumbrian* affairs; about which he had abundant opportunities of being well informed: but there is no reason to extend this to other relations inserted in his history, which he took by report from others, and in his preface expressly disavows engaging his own credit for the truth of the facts. All that he says in their behalf, is, that he inserts them exactly as they were related to him: and among others, from whom he derived accounts of affairs, he mentions *Albinus*, abbot of *Canterbury*. How this author could inform *Bede*, that *Hadrian* went with *Theodore* in his first visitation, I cannot easily imagine: yet *Bede* relates it, though he knew *Hadrian* was detained by *Ebroin* in *France*, till two years after; during which time *Biscop* governed the monastery of *St. Augustine's*^a. From this hand doubtless came the relation of the battle of *Chester*, and all the passages relating to *Augustine*; which *Bede*, I am persuaded, inserted in his book, not only without any alteration, but even without examination. He would else have seen the mistake of putting Pope *Gregory's* letter in *H. E.* l. i. c. 30. after that in c. 29, and saying it was wrote subsequent to the departure of the messengers from *Rome*, and sent after them, when it appears evidently from the date of both, to have been written not only before the departure of the messengers, but also five days before the other letter; it being dated xv Kal. Jul. and the other x Kal. Jul. *Bede* was too good a chronologer to be guilty himself of such a blunder, or to have overlooked it in another, or suffered it to pass, if he had not put an implicate faith in his informers, or made it a point of religion not to deviate from their accounts, even when they appeared inconsistent. Thus it is said in one line, that *Ethelfrid* got the victory, but not without a great loss of his troops; and yet in the next, the *Britains* are said to

have turned their backs at the first advance or onset of the enemy: it is said also in one line, that *Ethelfrid* fell upon the *Monks* first, and put them to the sword, before he attacked the *British* army, yet it is said two lines after, that the *Britains* fled and left the unarmed *Monks*, whom they should have defended, exposed to the swords of the enemy. This relation of the battle of *Chester* appears clearly to me to have been vamped up by the *Monks* of *Canterbury*, exasperated at the *Britains* refusing to submit to the primacy, which their church enjoyed over a great part of *England*. *Gregory* had, in his answer to *Augustine's*^b seventh query, pretended to give him an authority over all the *British* bishops: and *Augustine*, in a conference with them, had insisted on their owning and submitting to him as their archbishop^c. The *Britains* non-compliance in a point, wherein the dignity of the see of *Canterbury*, and the interest of all that had a share in its jurisdiction, were so much concerned, exasperated the *Monks* of that church against them: and hence those unbecoming expressions: *perfidia gens—nefanda militia—oblata sibi perpetue salutis consilia spernentes*—applied to the *Britains*, without any appearance of reason for such reflections. Hence the story of a miracle pretended to be wrought, not upon a *Britain*, or a person known to those who were to be converted, not to convince any body of the truth of the substance of religion, in which case God Almighty hath vouchsafed to interpose miraculously, but only to remove a few differences in mere ceremonies, modes, and circumstances of worship, things indifferent in their nature, and in which all churches have innocently varied. Hence also the time of the battle of *Chester* was so adjusted as to get a pretence, as well for entitling *Augustine* to the gift of prophecy, as for exposing the *Britains* to other *Christians* in an odious light; as having drawn upon themselves the divine judgments, by refusing to submit to a primacy, which would have destroyed the constitution of their church, and the order established in it from the time of their embracing the *Christian* religion.

^a *Hist. Eccl.* l. iv. c. 2. *Vita abb. Wyrimuth.*

^b *L. i. c. 27.*

^c *L. ii. c. 2.*

both

both *Saxon* and *British* writers with one consent maintaining, that a great number of clergy and religious were massacred by *Ethelfrid*, and that *Brochmael* was General of the *Britains*. This prince was the grandson of *Cadel* (surnamed *Deyrn-lug*, i. e. *King of the river*, his territories lying about the river *Severne*) who was king¹ of *Powis* in the time of *St. Germain*, and had nine sons born before *A. D.* 450. *Kynden*, one of those sons, married *Tydvael*, daughter of *Brachan*², king of *Brecknock*, and by her had *Brochmael*, who, as there passed at least a hundred and forty-three years between the time of his father's birth, and *A. D.* 193, could not well (as he was the eldest son of his father) be less than ninety³ years old, at the time of the battle of *Chester*, if affixed to that year: and to extend his life fourteen years longer, in order to put him at the head of an army in *A. D.* 607, is contrary to all reason and probability.

THIS battle, fatal as it proved to numbers of the religious, was, in another respect, very serviceable to religion in its consequences. The clergy of *Wales* had hitherto lived retired from the world, and in a conventual manner, either in monasteries, or in the seminaries which bishops kept at their sees, or that were founded in other places for instructing youth, and preparing persons for holy orders. From these seminaries clergymen were sent from time to time to preach the Gospel in such churches, as had been built by the piety of the lords of manors and territories for their own and tenants convenience in assisting at divine worship as opportunities offered: and all the instruction, which the people in the country had, was from such occasional and itinerant preachers. Princes indeed and chieftains of clans had always some ecclesiastics about them: but the people derived little instruction or benefit from those chaplains; whose living in the houses of the great lords, far from being of any advantage to their character, was the principal cause of that corruption of their manners, which is so vehemently inveighed against by *Gildas*. Of all the seminaries throughout *Wales*, several of which there were in each diocese, there was none supplied such numbers of clergy for the purposes of religion, as that of *Bangor Iscoed*, in which, according to *Bede's* account, there were two thousand one hundred religious distributed into seven classes, as if they were nurseries for so many dioceses. That place was now become an insecure abode for them, since the enemy was advanced to the *Dee* on which it was seated: and this consideration, added to the general horror which the late massacre had occasioned, put them upon providing better for their safety, and settling further up within the country. Thus parishes came to be settled in *Wales*, long before there was any such institution in *England*: and a surprizing number of churches⁴ were built in all the counties of *North-Wales* presently after the disaster here mentioned, in less time than can easily be imagined, and even before the year six hundred. Among these churches, that of *Llan-dyffillio*, and some others in *Montgomeryshire*; were built by *Tyffillio*, prince of *Powis*, and son of *Brochmael*, who died soon after the battle of *Chester*: and being founded by him before the later years fixed for this battle, afford another proof, that it ought not to be put later than *A. D.* 593; the time fixed for it by the *British Chronology*.

¹ *Nemius*, c. 33, 34.
Wall. l. i. c. 2.

² *Gir. Camb. Itin.*

³ This may be gathered likewise from the age of his mother, and her relations: she was one of the twenty-four daughters of *Brachan*, the two eldest of which were mothers, the one of *St. Cadoc*, who founded the famous seminary of *Llan-carrowan*, the other of *St. David*, who died in *A. D.* 544, being eighty-two years old, and would have been a hundred and thirty-one, had he lived till

this battle of *Chester*; and allowing *Brochmael's* mother to be twenty years younger than either of those sisters, and to be twenty years later in life before she was delivered of *Brochmael*, he could not, allowing this forty years difference between his age, and that of his cousin-germans, be less than ninety in *A. D.* 593. See the lives of *St. Canoc*, *St. Dubanus*, and *St. Cadoc* in *Colgan*, and of *St. Gundleus*, *St. Kenau* in *Bibl. Cotton. Vespasian.* A. xiv. 3. ⁴ *Mona Antiq.* p. 152.

A. D. 560. **ETHELFRID**, by his victory, became master of all *Cheeshire*; so that, except part of the *West-Riding* of *Yorshire*, which was reduced by his successor *Edwin*, part of *Cumberland* about *Carlisle* and *Lancashire*, the conquest of which was completed by his grandson *Egfrid*, and the parts beyond *Severne* and *Somerſet*, which held out near an hundred years longer, the *Saxons* were at this time in poſſeſſion of all the provinces of *England*, that ever belonged to them, whilſt the heptarchy ſubſiſted. In what manner they treated the *Britains*, that ſubmitted to their dominion, is not particularly mentioned by any of our old hiſtorians: but it may be preſumed to have been gentle enough; ſince there is not the leaſt hint given of any numbers of them taking refuge in *Wales* or of any inſurrection being ever attempted by them after they were ſubdued.

It was an uſual policy among the *German*¹ and northern nations, that over-run the *Roman* Empire, and ſettled in *Gaule* and *Italy*, to keep two thirds of the lands to themſelves, and to aſſign the other third to the natives of the country where they ſettled. Whether they reſtored a third of their other plunder, in its nature tranſitory and perishing, to the right owners, doth not appear; ſo that the practice of *St. Gutblac*², an *Engliſhman*, who uſed to do ſo, whilſt he followed the profeſſion of arms, might perhaps be owing to his particular ſcrupuloſity and tenderneſs of nature; as imagining there was the ſame equity and humanity in giving back a third of the perſonal, as there was for a third of the real, eſtate. It is reaſonable to think, that the *Saxons* took the ſame method in *England*, with regard to the chiefs of clans, or nobles, and the younger branches of their families, who ſeem to have been the only proprietors of lands among the *Britains*. The condition of the common people was much the ſame under both; for excepting that they were not called out to war, nor capable of civil employments, their manner of life was, in other reſpects, full as eligible under the ſervitude of the *Saxons*, as under the vallaſage of their own chieftains. *Tacitus*, in his diſcourſe about the manners of the *German*s, compares their conduct with that of the *Romans* towards their ſlaves; who were treated by the latter, as brutes, with all kinds of indignities, tortures, and inhumanities, that are inſupportable by human nature; but found an uſage from the former, fit for men to receive, and ſuch as might be expected from a good father of a family to his houſhold. The *Romans*, republicans as they were, and fond as they pretended to be of liberty, were the proudeſt and moſt tyrannical maſters upon earth: and the cruelties, which upon the moſt trifling occaſions they exerciſed upon their ſlaves, were ſo ſhocking even to their Emperors, that they made ſeveral laws to reſtrain thoſe abuſes of their power, though they were not thoroughly removed, till the time of *Conſtantine*; who, among his other laws full of humanity, + provided by a reſcript, that the putting of ſlaves to death ſhould be puniſhed as murder. The *German*s had reaſon to be provoked at this treatment of their countrymen who had been taken in war; yet when they defeated *Varus*, they took no revenge upon the *Roman* priſoners; employing them only in guarding their houſes, tilling their lands, and managing their rural affairs. They ſhewed no pride; they exerciſed no cruelty, no acts of puniſhment or torture upon their ſlaves³: they lived among the ſame cattle, lay upon the ſame ground with them; and the children of thoſe ſlaves were nurſed up in the ſame manner with their own, all that was expected from them, being only ſuch proportions of *work*, *corn*, *cattle*, and other produce of their farms, as are now done by hired ſervants, or paid by cuſtomary tenants. In a word, ſervitude was ſo very eaſy among them, that abundance of their own nation voluntarily entered into it, only to be eaſed of the

¹ *Leg. Burgund. Tit. liv. Leg. Viſigoth. l. x.*
² *Tit. viii. Caſſiod. Ep. 2. l. xvi.*
³ *M. Weſtm. A. D. 714.*

⁴ *Ib. c. 20, 25, &c.* ⁵ *L. un C. de emend. ſerv.*
⁶ See *Pignorius* & *Potgiſer de ſtatu ſervorum*
apud Germanos.

cares of life, and to be sure of having a provision for themselves and families, in case of being disabled by age, sickness, or other accidents, to get a livelihood. A. D. 560.

XIII. THE Saxons were as yet *Pagans*, but there is no reason to think, that they put any hardship upon the *Britains* who lived under them, in point of religion. Conversion of England. Whether these last made any attempts to convert them, is a fact not to be cleared at this distance of time: but it is very certain, that, except in the province of *Kent*, which had been quitted by the *British* clergy and people upon *Hengist's* victory at *Creyford*, the *Saxons* had, in all their other kingdoms, been so continually engaged in all the hurry and tumults of war, from the time of their arrival in *Britain*, that they had not found a moment's leisure to hear and examine the truths of *Christianity*. They were less disposed to receive them from the *Britains*, who were either their slaves or enemies, than from any other quarter: nor could these probably attempt to convert them for want of speaking their language; which the *British* clergy were not likely to learn in an age, when retirement from the world was conceived to be an exemplary part of their duty, and a necessary point of religion. These difficulties, insuperable to the *Britains*, were at last happily removed by the means of a *French* alliance; by the prudence, piety, merit, and influence of a princess of that nation, and by the assistance of preachers, brought from among a people of the same common origin with the *Saxons*; who had for above three hundred years been their next neighbours, and lived all that time in the strictest friendship and confederacy with them; and who, besides a perfect agreement with them in temper, customs, and manners, spake likewise the same language.

ETHELBERT, a wise and good prince, had, in *A. D.* 560, succeeded his father *Ermenric* in the kingdom of *Kent*, which had now enjoyed a continued peace of an hundred years: and being concerned in none of their quarrels, had at least a very great influence, if not a superior, authority over all the other princes of the *Saxon* heptarchy. He had¹, in his father's life-time, married *Bertha*, the only daughter of *Caribert*, king of *Paris*, and cousin-german as well to *Clotaire*, king of *Soissons*, as to *Childebert*, the late king of *Austrasia*, whose two sons, *Theodebert* and *Theuderic*, reigned at this time, the one in that kingdom, the other in *Burgundy*. *Bertha* was a *Christian*, well instructed and zealous in her religion, which, by the articles of her marriage, she had free liberty to exercise²: and for that purpose was attended by a venerable bishop named *Liudhard*; who officiated constantly in a church dedicated to *St. Martin*, built in the time of the *Britains*, and lying a little way out of the walls of *Canterbury*. The exemplary life of this prelate, and the discourses he had with the principal persons about *Ethelbert's* court, disposed many of them to embrace *Christianity*: but the chief merit in getting it received was undoubtedly due to the queen, who, on that account, is³ compared to the famous *St. Helena*, mother of *Constantine*. This princess had an excellent understanding, improved with an uncommon share of knowledge and learning; the fame of which and of her good deeds had spread over the *West*, and reached the seat of the eastern Empire. Nor is it any wonder, that a person of her good sense and accomplishments should have such an influence on an husband, whose esteem and confidence she had gained by the wisdom and regularity of her conduct in the course of thirty years, which they had lived together, as to persuade him to have a good opinion of that religion, which she professed and recommended continually by her life and conversation. Nothing was wanting to produce a general conversion of the nation, but a sufficient number of divines to preach the gospel: the queen and *Liudhard* had, in all probability, used their endeavours, though ineffectually, to procure them

¹ *Greg. Turon.* l. ix. c. 26.

² *Bede's H. E.* l. i. c. 25, 26.

³ *Greg. M.* l. ix. ep. 60.

A. D. 596. from *France*; because the complaints¹, made on account of the great neglect of sending preachers from the neighbourhood to *Kent*, are plainly levelled at the *French* bishops.

To remove this defect, *Gregory the great*, then bishop of *Rome*, hearing of this general disposition of the *English* to receive the *Christian* religion, sent *Augustine* with a number of devout *monks* from his monastery at *Rome*, to preach the gospel in *England*: but they had got no farther than *Provence*; when, terrified with the dangers and difficulties of the enterprize, they sent their superior back to report their fears, and to desire leave to return. *Gregory*, persisting in his design, sent them orders to proceed on their mission: and for their encouragement, wrote to the three courts of *France*, to take them under their protection, and to furnish them with proper helps to promote the success of their undertaking. He sent letters to several *French* prelates to the like effect, as also to *Brunebaut*, regent of *Austrasia* and *Burgundy*, during the minority of her grand-children; who distinguished herself so remarkably by her zeal on this occasion, that *Gregory*² says, *Next to God, England was indebted to her for its conversion*. This princess supplied *Augustine* with a number of *French* clergymen who spake the *English* tongue; so that about forty missionaries in all landed in the *Isle of Thanet*. Thither *Ethelbert* came to hear them preach in the open air, not caring to enter an house; perhaps to please his heathen priests, and shew them that his conversion was not to be ascribed to the power of any spell, as they might be willing to suggest: and inviting them to *Canterbury*, provided there for their habitation and maintenance. They passed their time in continual prayers, singing of hymns, fastings, and other acts of devotion and austerity: they preached constantly in the church of *St. Martin*; the people were edified with their manner of life, and so affected with their doctrines, that several were converted and baptized. The king, in a little time, declared himself a convert: and the whole nation followed his example. *Augustine*, having received episcopal ordination from the primate of *Arles* in *France*, made *Christ-Church*, which had been built by the *Britains*, his cathedral; the churches, which though not demolished by the *Saxons*, had fallen to decay, were repaired: the heathen temples, being hallowed, served for places of divine worship; and feasts of dedication were instituted to preserve the memory of their consecration. A seminary for learning was erected, and the abbey of *St. Augustine* founded; the king beginning there the structure of a magnificent church, which served afterwards for the sepulture of his own successors, and those of *Augustine*; who, now possessed of the see of *Canterbury*, wanted to procure a number of suffragans to submit to him as their metropolitan.

A. D. 598. WHETHER he imagined, that his being the converter of a nation gave him any right to the authority, as well as character of an apostle, he had consulted his patron *Gregory*, bishop of *Rome*³, about the measure of authority he should assume over the bishops of *France* and *Britain*. With regard to the power which *Gregory* pretended to exercise on this occasion, it is not improper previously to observe, that *Valentinian III.* had, by an imperial edict⁴, given to the bishop of *Rome* an authority over all bishops in his dominions; which, at the time of this novel, consisted of *Italy*, *Gaule*, *Spaine*, and part of *Illyricum*, but did not extend to *Britain*; which had been before cast off by the Emperor *Honorius*, and left to shift for itself. The *Pope* in his answer allowed him no manner of jurisdiction over the *French* bishops; the archbishop of *Arles* having received the *pall* from his predecessors; so that he could not act in the way of authority, but only of persuasion, with that prelate; whose primacy was an ancient institution of the

¹ *Ib.* cp. 58, 59.

² *Ib.* cp. 56.

³ *Bede*, l. i. c. 27.

⁴ *Concil.* tom. iii. fol. 1501. *El.* father

fathers of the church, and not to be invaded in any respect: but gave him authority over all the *British* bishops. Three years after, *Augustine*¹ received from the same hand a *pall* to be used only for divine service, and a grant of jurisdiction for his life over all the *Saxon* bishops, that should be ordained in process of time, as *Christianity* gained ground in *England*. The *pall*, as the learned *M. de Marca*² observes, was a rich robe of state, very magnificent, and hanging down to the ground: it was part of the imperial habit, and allowed to the bishops of *Rome* by the favour of some Emperor, perhaps of *Constantine*, to whom it is ascribed in the pretended *donation* of that Emperor inserted in *Gratian's Decretum*; which though the grant be spurious, was yet extant in the time of *Charlemagne*. It was indulged by the Emperors to ³ other *patriarchs*, when upon the alteration made in the civil polity of the Empire, by throwing several provinces into what was termed a diocese, and constituting a governor over the whole, with authority to receive appeals from each, the patriarchal dignity was erected with a like power in ecclesiastical matters; conformable to the model of the civil government, to which the church always had a particular regard. This patriarchal power and right of receiving appeals was vested in the bishop of the place, which was the seat of the supreme civil jurisdiction, and where the præfect of the diocese kept his ordinary residence. Thus *Anthimus* patriarch of *Constantinople*⁴, being expelled from his see, returned his *pall* to the Emperor *Justinian*, to the fountain from whence it was derived; and when patriarchs took upon them to allow the archbishops in their patriarchate to wear it, they did not presume to do so, without leave at first from the Emperors; and afterwards from the princes, in whose dominions the archiepiscopal see was seated. So the Popes *Vigilius* and *Gregory I.* acted in the cases of *Auxanius* and *Aurelian* of *Arles*: and when their successors introduced the practice of granting the use of the *pall* without leave, they altered its ancient form to the modern, that it might no longer be deemed a part of the imperial habit, which it was treasonable to wear without licence. It is now only a white piece of woolen cloth, about the breadth of a border, made round, marked with red crosses, and thrown over the shoulders; two others, of the same matter and form, with each a red cross on them, falling down from it, the one on the breast, the other on the back. This modern form was in use before *Alcuin's*⁵ time, when *Boniface* archbishop of *Mentz*, having in *A. D.* 742. got a synodical decree to oblige metropolitans to apply to *Rome* for their *pall*, and pay a canonical obedience to the papal injunctions, this ornament, which was only designed at first for a distinction of habit, between archbishops and their suffragans, came to be made use of as a pretence to sap the foundation of the archiepiscopal authority, and to be urged as a mark to shew, it was derived only from the Pope's delegation. *Hincmar*, archbishop of *Rheims*, absolutely disavowed, even to Pope *Nicholas I.* himself, that he derived any enlargement of jurisdiction, or any new privilege from it, but other prelates, less firm, or less powerful, were forced to submit to the impositions laid upon them, till they came at last by the *Decretals* to be inhibited from exercising any part of their ordinary authority, and even some essential branches of their episcopal power, till they had received their *pall* from *Rome*. The design of this was, to make them swear fidelity to the Pope; that promise of canonical obedience to him, which they had made since *A. D.* 742, having been changed by *Gregory VII.* into an oath of *allegiance*, such as vassals by the feudal law were obliged to take to their princes.

A. D. 598.

¹ *Ib.* c. 29.

² *De concord. sacerdot. & imp.* l. vi. c. 6. § 6, 7.

³ See the eighth General

council at *Constantinople*, *A. D.* 872.

⁴ *Liberat diacon. breviar.* c. 21.

⁵ *De divin. offic.*

Boniface, ep. 105. *ad Guthbert.*

A. D. 603.

AUGUSTINE, honoured with the *pall*, and countenanced by a papal grant of authority over the *British* bishops, resolved to try how far they would submit to it: and by the credit of king *Ethelbert* got a meeting with some of them, probably near *Aust* or *Aust-clive*¹, the usual passage for ferrying over the *Severne* into *Wales*, and where *Edward the elder* had afterwards an interview with *Leoline* prince of that country; it lying on the extremity of *Gloucestershire*, inhabited by the *Huiccii*, and on the borders of what was in *Bede's* time the kingdom of the *West-Saxons*. The *Britains* kept *Easter* on a different day, and disagreed in some other ceremonies from the *Romans*; whose practice *Augustine* pressed them to adopt, in order, after a conformity was once established, to preach the gospel jointly to the *Saxons*: but they being neither convinced by his arguments, nor impowered to give up the ancient customs of their church, proposed a second meeting, when more of their body might be present. There came accordingly seven *British* bishops, and a great many learned men from the famous monastery of *Bangor*, over which *Dinotb* at that time presided; but this conference proved as fruitless as the former. *Augustine* insisted on their obeying him in three things, viz. in keeping *Easter* on the same day, in administering baptism with the same rites that were used in the *Roman* church, and in joining with him to preach the word of God to the *English*; and in that case he would bear with the disagreement of their customs in other respects. He was sitting, and had not moved from his seat, when they came to the place of conference: the *British* bishops thence concluded, he was an haughty man; and that, if he treated them with so much contempt and rudeness, before they had received him for their superior, he would treat them much worse afterwards. The churches of *Wales* had never been subject to any, but the archbishops of *Caerleon* and their successors, who had of late removed their place of abode to *St. David's*. They were in the case of the *Cypriot* churches, whose independency was on a solemn hearing confirmed by the General council of *Ephesus*; the *British* bishops accordingly resolved to maintain their original rites without acting in subordination to *Augustine* in any point; and declared they would neither give up their ancient usages, nor receive him for their archbishop. Thus ended this conference, which *Bede* placeth after the battle of *Dægstan*.

A. D. 604.

AUGUSTINE was yet without a suffragan; but in the year following he consecrated *Justus* bishop of *Rochester*; assigning him part of *Kent* for his diocese, and *Mellitus* to be bishop of *London*, upon the conversion of the *East-Saxons*. *Sebert*, king of this people, was nephew to *Ethelbert* by his sister *Ricula*²; and being himself baptized, many of his subjects embraced *Christianity*. But these two princes dying about the same time, *A. D.* 616, their sons relapsed into *idolatry*; and though *Sebert's* were all three cut off in a short time, and their forces routed in a battle with the *West-Saxons*, the *Londoners* were so attached to their pagan customs, that the *Christian* religion never flourished among them till *A. D.* 653, when *Sigebert*³ the good was converted by the means of *Oswi* king of the *Northumbrians*. *Eadbald* son of *Ethelbert* soon recovered from his apostasy; and was instrumental in the conversion of the *English* nation inhabiting north of *Humber*, by marrying his sister *Ethelburga* to *Edwin* king of that nation, upon his solemn promise, that he would not only allow her and all her retinue the free exercise of their religion, but would also examine into it himself, and embrace it, if he found it more holy than his own, and more worthy of the divine nature. *Paulinus*, a wise and learned bishop, extremely well qualified for his province, with several other clergymen, attended the princess to her

¹ See *Camden*, GLOUCESTER.² *Bede*, l. ii. c. 5.³ *Ib.* l. iii. c. 22.⁴ *Ib.* l. ii. c. 9
hulham

husband in *A. D.* 625: but it was not till two years after, ¹ that *Edwin* was converted. In this great point of changing his religion, he proceeded with all the care, calmness, and deliberation that the importance of the affair deserved. Not satisfied with his own reflections, which he often retired for hours together to make without interruption, and with reasoning in private with his ministers on the subject, he convened all his nobility, counsellors, and friends, to examine the grounds of both religions, in a solemn assembly, where *Paulinus* was heard in behalf of the *Christian*, as the chief pontiff was in defence of the *Pagan*; and in the conclusion, an unanimous resolution was taken in favour of the *Christian* religion. The pontiff himself, being convinced, was more forward than any other in destroying the altars and temples of the idols he had worshipped. *Edwin* was baptized with all the noblemen of his country, and a vast number of the common people; and such a zeal appeared in all parts for embracing *Christianity*, that for six years together, which *Paulinus* staid afterwards in the country, whether he was in *Bernicia*, *Deira* or *Lincolnshire*, he and his clergy were continually employed in instructing and baptizing the infinite multitudes of people, that flocked to him from all the towns and villages. *Edwin's* conversion drew with it that of *Eorpwald* ² king of the *East-Angles*; whose father *Redwald* had been baptized in *Kent*, probably upon *Ethelbert's* remonstrances: but after his return home, he had by his wife's persuasion, continued still to practise idolatry; having, in the same temple, one altar dedicated to the worship of *Christ*, and another to his false divinities. The province in general received the faith at the same time with *Eorpwald*: but he being soon after murdered by a relation of his named *Richerēt*, the whole kingdom of the *East-Angles* was for three years in great confusion. But in *A. D.* 631, *Sigebert*, half brother to *Eorpwald*, having been bred a *Christian* in *France*, and made a great progress in learning as well as piety, mounted the throne; and by the help of St. *Furseus* and *Felix* (which last he made bishop of *Dunwich*) founding a seminary for the instruction of youth, brought over all his realm in a short time to embrace the *Christian* religion. *A. D.* 604.

THE *Mercians* were, in a manner, surrounded by these different kingdoms of the *Saxons*; and yet were slower in receiving the faith, than even the *West-Saxons*; who lay at a distance from them all, and could have no communication with any, but through countries which continued as yet pagan. This seems owing to their princes being taken up with warlike expeditions, not so much for making further conquests upon the *Britains*, as against one another: for, not agreeing about dividing the spoil, and the possession of the countries which they had reduced, they broke out into the like civil wars, as they had seen fatal to their enemies. *Ethelbert*, the king of *Kent* before mentioned, was the first that began them; having, in the heat of his youth, marched, *A. D.* 568, with a numerous army to invade the territories of the *West-Saxons*: but the event discouraged him from any further attempts; being routed by *Ceaulin* at *Wibbandune*, now *Wimbledon* in *Surrey*, with the loss of some of his principal nobility. *Ceaulin*, content with forcing his enemy to an inglorious retreat into his own country, turned his arms against the *Britains*, whose territories between the *Thames* and the *Severne* he subdued: but his nephew *Crothulf*, coming to the crown in *A. D.* 597 ³, made war all his time equally against the *Saxons*, and their common enemy. The *Saxon Chronicle* placeth his attack of the *South-Saxons* in *A. D.* 607: but he was probably contending all his reign with the *Mercians*, for the possession of those countries, which, lying between the *Thames* and the borders of their territories, were, for many years, the subject of dispute *A. D.* 627.

¹ *Ib.* l. ii. c. 12, 13, 16.

² *Ib.* c. 15.

³ *Chron. Sax. Hunt. Malmf. &c.*

A. D. 617 between them and the *West-Saxons*. *Cynegils*, succeeding *Ceolulf* *A. D. 611*, assumed his son *Cwichelme* into a share of the government about three years after, when they routed the *Britains* at *Beandune*¹, killing about two thousand of their number. They had much more powerful enemies in *Edwin*, king of the *Northumbrians*, and *Penda*, king of *Mercia*: and could not boast of the same success.

EDWIN was the son of *Ælla*, the first king of *Deira*, and but three years old, when, upon his father's death, that kingdom was seized by his brother-in-law *Ethelfrid*: and those who had the care of the child's education, apprehending his life to be in danger, fled with him into *North-Wales*. There, all the *British* writers agree, he was brought up in the court of prince *Cadvan*, in the same manner as his son *Cadwallon*², who was of the same age with *Edwin*; a fact which there is no room to question, since it appears from the *Triades*, that *Edwin* was accounted one of the three plagues that fell upon the *Isle of Anglesey*; being nursed and educated in the same island where the *British* princes generally kept their court. Whether any rivalry in their exercises, or any other occasion of quarrel, created an animosity between these two princes in their youth; or whether *Edwin* had reason to suspect the *British* court of a like design of betraying him, as he found afterwards in some others, it is very certain, that when he grew up, they appeared to be mortal enemies. *Cadwallon* however seems to have been the aggressor, and to have engaged the *Cumbrian Britains* in his quarrel; it not being otherwise easy to conceive how he could pierce into the heart of *Northumberland*, as far as *Din-wydr*, now *Widdrington*, lying on the sea coast about eight miles north of *Morpeth*. There his army was routed in a bloody battle, with such loss, that *Edwin*, pursuing his blow, entered *Cadwallon's* territories, drove him thence, and kept him out of his kingdom for seven years: during which time (as that ancient author avers) he bore a very heavy hand over the *Isle of Anglesey*³; which had been his nurse; as well as over that of *Man*, and the maritime provinces of the *Britains*; which all the *Saxons* writers agree in asserting.

THESE all represent the first thirty years of *Edwin's* life, as passed in continual danger and anxiety, in the condition of an exile; skulking in various places, and wandering from one kingdom to another; persecuted every where by *Ethelfrid*; who had usurped his crown, and looked upon the possession thereof to be very precarious, as long as the right heir was living. Among other countries, where he had sought for safety, he had taken refuge in *Mercia*; and been so well received at *Ceorl's* court, that he had married his daughter *Quoenburga*⁴, and had by her two sons, *Osfrid* and *Eadfrid*, who were born during his exile. This alliance seemed to afford him some reasonable grounds of security: but *Ceorl* was himself an usurper, and consequently faithless. He had got possession of the crown of *Mercia* upon the death of *Wibba*, whose son *Penda* was thereby excluded; and though *Ethelfrid* had seized some of the *Mercian* territories, and *Edwin* was of use to *Ceorl* to prevent any further encroachments; yet having likewise a competitor, whose death would be full as convenient to him, as *Edwin's* was to *Ethelfrid*, they found, in this resemblance of their cases, some method to adjust their interests.

¹ *Ibid.* So the place is called by *Huntingdon* and *Florence of Worcester*, and so *Camden* reading it, placeth it at *Byndon* in *Dorsetshire*, with more probability than it can be placed any where else; it lying but a few miles within the territories of the *Saxons* on their western borders, where they were not fond of attacking the *Britains*, who seem to be the aggressors on this occasion. The *Saxon Chronicle* indeed calls the place *Beamdune*, which the editor of that *Chronicle* takes to be *Bampton* in *Devon*, on the

edge of *Somerset*, but I do not think the *Saxons* were advanced at this time so far north that way and as for *Bampton* in *Oxfordshire*, on the edge of *Berks*, where *Ralph Higden* and *Dr. Kennet* also place it, I see not the least reason to imagine it possible for the *Britains* to advance so far into the *West-Saxon* dominions.

² See *Mr. Vaughan's Dissert. on the Brit. Chronol.* ³ *Bede*, l. ii. c. 9. ⁴ *Ib.* c. 12.

⁵ *Ib.* c. 14.

Edwin was on the point of being either murdered or delivered up to *Ethelfrid*; *A. D. 627.* when, discovering the design, he fled to *Redwald*, king of the *East-Angles*, who assured him of his protection. *Ethelfrid's* malice pursued him thither, as soon as he knew the place of his retreat: he offered large sums of money to get *Edwin* in his power; and when his offers were rejected, he renewed his application with greater, and at last went so far as to threaten an immediate war in case of a refusal. *Redwald* had hitherto stood firm to his word: but matters being come to this extremity, he appeared very irresolute, though rather inclined to take the more dishonourable, which seemed to be the safer, party. *Edwin* was, by a particular friend, advertised of the danger he was in, and offered a means of escape: but either weary of a wandering, anxious, uncomfortable way of life, or thinking it unfit to shew any distrust of a prince, who had not yet failed in the least part of his promise, he resolved to wait the event. *Redwald* took a party agreeable to his wishes; being either prompted by the greatness of his own mind, or moved by the persuasions of his queen: who advising him better in the point of his honour¹, than she had done in the case of his religion, represented to him the meanness of the motives, for which he was to betray his friend, and sacrifice his faith for ever, in so pathetical a manner, that he resolved not only to keep his word with the exiled prince, but to assist him in the recovery of his dominions. He knew very well the dangers he ran by a refusal; and that *Ethelfrid*, in the fury of his resentment at it, would soon be with all his forces in the kingdom of the *East-Angles*, if not prevented by an invasion of his own territories. It is there that usurpers are always weakest; and there that *Redwald* resolved to attack his adversary, before he had time to get all his forces together. With this view, and in hopes of some defection in favour of *Edwin*, he dismissed *Ethelfrid's* ambassadors, and followed them immediately with a great army: which, marching with all possible expedition, advanced into the northern parts of *Nottinghamshire* without opposition. But there, a little to the east of the river *Idle*, near *Retford*, *Ethelfrid* met him with a choice body of troops, though much inferior in number: and made so furious an attack on the corps commanded by *Reyner*, *Redwald's* son, that he broke it, and slew the young prince; whose fall only serving to irritate the father, was soon revenged by the death of *Ethelfrid*, and the defeat of his forces. This battle was fought *A. D. 616*, according to *Florence of Worcester*, or the year following, according to the *Saxon Chronicle*.

Edwin, by this victory, became master of all *Bernicia*, as well as *Deira*; *Ethelfrid's* seven sons flying for safety into *Scotland*; where they had an opportunity of being instructed in the *Christian* religion. *Redwald* dying soon after, was succeeded by his son *Eorpwald*: but all the power of the state remained in *Edwin*², who was infinitely esteemed by the nobility and people of the *East-Angles*; so that, if he had pleased, they would have put themselves under his government. *Edwin* was as well known among the *Mercians*: and it was probably to assist them, that he became engaged in a war against the *West-Saxons*; from whom he took some of their last conquests over the *Britains*, which afterwards made part of the *Mercian* kingdom, which at this time paid him tribute. *Lincolnshire*, and all north of *Trent*, had been before seized by *Ethelfrid*, and being now under *Edwin's* immediate dominion, he became, by these acquisitions and others on the side of *Wales*, the most powerful monarch that had ever been in *Britain*. He had great talents: and, being trained up in adversity, made an excellent governor, fit to reform, as well as govern, a nation; so that no disorder was committed within his territories; justice, peace, and tranquillity flourished, and his sub-

¹ *IV. Malmesb. l. i. c. 3.*² *Ibid.*

*A. D. 627.*jects distinguished themselves by the practice of all kinds of virtue, to a degree as hath scarce been equalled in any country. What raised the glory of *Edwin*, provoked the envy of others: and *Cwichelme*, prince of the *West-Saxons*, despairing to recover, in his life-time, the country lately lost, sent, in *A. D. 626*, one *Eumer* to assassinate him with a dagger poisoned, to make the slightest wound prove mortal. The rare fidelity of *Lilla*¹, the king's favourite minister, saved him from death, by interposing his body, in defect of any thing else, to parry the blow, and by receiving the dagger in his own bowels. This execrable attempt *Edwin* revenged by invading the *West-Saxon* territories; destroying those who had been the promoters of it, and forcing the rest to a submission. Every thing had hitherto succeeded to his wishes: but this very year, in which his power seemed to be at the height, by the superiority he had gained over the *West-Saxons*, produced an event which proved fatal to his crown and family.

PENDA, the son of *Wibba*², was restless, savage, bold, and enterprising; without any principle in nature to restrain him in the use of any means that would effect his purposes: he had distinguished himself, by a brutal courage, in an infinite number of incursions he had made into the bordering countries; and was the man of his time, who best understood the art of making war in parties, by stealth and surprize. He was become master of the *Mercian kingdom* (of which his grandfather *Crida* had been the first founder) whether by the death of *Ceorl* or otherwise, is uncertain, but he did not care to enjoy it in the condition of a tributary to *Edwin*. It was dangerous to attempt throwing off a burden, which he thought dishonourable, till he was better established on his throne, and had come to some terms with the neighbours whom he had provoked by his ravages. Such were the *West-Saxons*, into whose country he advanced as far *Cirencester*; where a battle was fought which lasted till night put an end to the combat: and both parties had such experience of each other's strength and valour, that, instead of renewing it the next day, they came to a pacification. *Penda*, safe on that side from any disturbance, still wanted an ally to render him a match for *Edwin*: but *Cadwallon*, having by his assistance at last recovered his dominions, readily entered into his measures; and joined him with an army of bold *Britains*, in hopes of having his revenge on an old enemy. *Edwin* seems to have been surprized by this invasion; the allies having entered *Yorkshire*, before he met them with his army; which was defeated in *Hatfield* forest, and himself slain³, on *October 12*, *A. D. 633*, in the forty-eighth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his reign. Of his children by his first wife, *Osfrid* the eldest was slain with him; *Eadfrid* the other was put to death by *Penda*: those which he had by his second wife fled with her and *Paulinus*, bishop of *York*, into *Kent*; from whence *Vuscrean* his son, and *Yffi*, the son of *Osfrid*, were sent to king *Dagobert*, to be brought up in *France*; and dying in their infancy, the male line of *Edwin* became utterly extinct. The allies, after their victory, ravaged the country in a terrible manner: *Penda* being a pagan, and *Cadwallon* cruel in his nature, but more so by his politics; which put him upon exterminating the *English* nation out of *Britain*. Whether the former perceived this design, or had a mind to secure the more southern provinces, which had by the two last *Northumbrian* princes been taken from the *Mercians*, he seems to have left *Cadwallon* to finish the ruin of the north by his own forces. In this juncture, *Osric*, son of *Ælfric* *Ælla's* brother, and cousin-german to *Edwin*, assumed the crown of *Deira*⁴: and *Eanfrid*, eldest son to *Ethelfrid*, returning from *Scotland*, seized the kingdom of *Bernicia*; both glorying that they had got possession of what belonged to them by hereditary right. But short was the enjoyment of their

¹ *Bede*, l. ii. c. 9.² *HP. Malmesb.* l. i. c. 4.³ *Bede*, l. ii. c. 20.⁴ *Malmesb. ib.*

inheritance;

inheritance: *Osfic*¹ being, the next summer, cut in pieces with his army near *York* *A. D. 627.*
by *Cadwallon*: and *Eanfrid*, coming unadvisedly to treat with him about terms of peace, being soon after put to death by the same tyrant; whose treachery and cruelty did not long prosper. For *Oswald*, the second son of *Ethelfrid* by *Acca*, *Edwin's* sister, a pious and virtuous prince, venturing with a small body of resolute forces to attack that immense number of troops, which the *British* prince imagined to be invincible, *Cadwallon* was slain, and his army routed at a place a little north of the wall of *Severus*², called *Hefenfield*, now *Binsfeld*, near the brook of *Erringburn*, and the famous cross of *St. Oswald*, erected by him, as he was coming to this battle. This glorious victory soon enabled *Oswald* to recover all the countries that had belonged to *Edwin*, and to equal him in power and glory, as well as in piety and virtue. His first act of government was to provide for religion; sending to *Scotland* for a bishop to supply the place of *Paulinus*, who had settled in the see of *Rocheſter*: nor did his friends there, to whom he owed his own conversion, deceive his expectation in sending him *Aidan*, a prelate of great piety, temper, moderation, prudence, and austerity of life; every way qualified for the great work of inspiring a rough warlike people with religious sentiments, and instructing them in the doctrines of *Christianity*; in which he succeeded so well, as to be reputed the converter of *Bernicia*.

OSWALD was himself serviceable the year following in the conversion of the *West-Saxons*, being god-father to king *Cynegils*³, whose daughter he was going to marry, and joining with him in the grant of *Dorchester* to *Birinus*: who had first preached the gospel in that country, and now fixed his episcopal see in that town of *Oxfordſhire*. *Cwichelme* was not converted till the next year: and died soon after his baptism. *Oswald* lived seven years after his marriage, and was slain⁴ *August 5*, *A. D. 642*, by *Penda*, king of the *Mercians*, in a battle fought at *Maserfelt*, now *Oswaldſtre* in *Shropſhire*, leaving a son named *Edilwald*: who being an infant, *Oſwi*, brother of the late king, took upon him the government of *Bernicia*, and *Oſwin* (son of *Oſric* before-mentioned) returning home from a ten years exile among the *West-Saxons*, got possession of the kingdom of *Deira*. This he claimed as the next heir male of the royal family: ⁵ and this right being universally acknowledged by the nobility, ⁶ he governed for nine years with so much wisdom and goodness, that he was universally beloved by his subjects, who flourished under him in the greatest affluence: but being at the end of that term invaded by *Oſwi*, who had married *Eanſleda*, the daughter of *Edwin*, and finding his army too weak to venture a battle, he, to prevent effusion of blood, retired to the house of count *Hunwald*. This nobleman betraying him to the enemy, he was murdered by *Oſwi's* orders on *August 30*, *A. D. 651*⁷, at *Gilling*, near *Richmond*: and succeeded by *Edilwald*; who enjoying part of *Deira* for a few years, died without issue.

It was, in all probability, immediately after the defeat of *Oswald*, that *Penda* *A. D. 642.*
over-ran his territories, and advanced as far as *Bamburg*⁸ in *Northumberland*: which *Bede* relates, without mentioning the year of the expedition. This warlike prince, who raised the *Mercian* kingdom, before inconsiderable, to the height of its grandeur, was the death of some, and the terror of all the neighbouring princes; harassing their territories with continual invasions, one after another. He was scarce rid of the *Northumbrian* war, when a point of honour engaged him in another with the *West-Saxons*⁹, who had always repulsed him during the reign of *Kingils*; but this king dying *A. D. 643*, had been succeeded by his son *Kenwalch*; a pagan, that stood in need of a better religion to correct his morals. This prince,

¹ L. iii. c. 1. ² *Ib.* c. 2. and *App.* 9.

³ *Bede*, l. iii. c. 7. *Chron. Saxon.*

⁴ *Bede*, l. iii. c. 9. ⁵ *Ib.* l. iii. c. 1, 14.

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⁶ *MS. Bibl. Cotton. Julius A. x. in vita S. Oswini,—hereditarii juris successione.*

⁷ *Flor. Wig.* ⁸ L. iii. c. 16. ⁹ *Hunt.*

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upon

A. D. 642. upon his accession to the crown, had married a new wife, and turned off his former: who could not but be extremely irritated at an affront, which *English* ladies¹ used to resent in an extraordinary manner. The divorced princess was sister to *Penda*, and easily engaged him to revenge her quarrel; a war ensued, in which, after several battles fought, *Kenwalch* was at last² driven out of his kingdom, and forced to fly to *Anna*, king of the *East-Angles*, for protection. Adversity brought him to himself: he was converted during his exile; and proved afterwards an excellent governor. Recovering his kingdom three years after he had lost it,³ he gave all his territories, lying north of the *Thames*, to *Cuthred*, his brother *Cwichelm*'s son, who was now of age, to hold as a principality under him: and to have a see in those, which were in his own immediate subjection, he founded a church at *Winchester*; which became soon after the seat of one the *West-Saxon* bishopricks.

A. D. 645. THE main body of the *Mercians* had not as yet received the *Christian* faith: but in *A. D. 653*, a considerable step was made towards it by the conversion of the *Middle-Angles*; who inhabited *Leicestershire*, and the parts adjoining south of the *Trent*. This province being the frontier of his kingdom towards the *Northumbrians*, *Penda* had given the government of it to *Peada*⁴, his eldest son; a prince of very good dispositions, and every way worthy of the royal dignity. *Peada* was very desirous to marry *Alchfleda* daughter to *Oswi*, king of *Bernicia*; who absolutely refusing his consent to the match, unless he were a *Christian*, this put him upon examining into the grounds of that religion. He was much assisted in that point by his friend *Alchfrid*, *Oswi*'s eldest son, who had married his sister *Cymburga*: and being soon convinced, desired to be baptized, even though he should

¹ *Procopius De bello Gothico*, l. iv. c. 20. relates the following history. *Hermegiselus*, king of the *Varni* (a people inhabiting between the mouth of the *Rhine* and the ocean on the north of that river) had married for his second wife a daughter of *Thierri*, king of *Austrasia*, and sister of *Theodebert*. His first wife had left him a son named *Radiger*: and he had treated for a marriage between this son and an *English* princess, sister to a king of the *East-Angles*. The affair was concluded; but before the princess crossed the sea, *Hermegiselus* fell ill of the distemper whereof he died. When he saw death inevitable, he sent for his principal nobility, and told them that he had "always endeavoured to keep his people in peace, and for that reason had married his second wife out of a French family; but as he had no children by her, it would be worth their while to consider, whether it would not be good policy, to keep her among them, by marrying her to *Radiger*; that he had indeed promised this son to an *English* king for his sister, but that alliance did not seem so advantageous as the *French*, there being only the *Rhine* to part them from the *French*, whereas the *English* were at a distance beyond the sea; that the *French* were powerful, able to ruin or protect them; and it behoved them of all things to secure the friendship of that people by all means possible, particularly by the ties of marriage. For these reasons he thought it proper for them to put off the *English* king with some excuse, and to marry *Radiger* to his mother-in-law as soon as possible." They were accordingly married. The *English* princess, enraged at this affront, sent to know *Radiger*'s motives, for treating her with such an indignity. Excuses were sent, but gave no satisfaction: she prevailed with the king her brother, to send a fleet with a body of forces, under the command of another brother, to attack

the king of the *Varni*; and would needs go herself on the expedition. The troops landed without opposition in the country of the *Varni*, who expected no enemy: she staid with a part of them encamped at the mouth of the *Rhine*, whilst her brother marched up into the country with the rest, and defeated the *Varni* in battle; a great number of them being slain in the field, and *Radiger*, with the rest, flying to their woods and morasses for shelter. As the *English* had no cavalry, they did not advance further into the country: but after a short pursuit, returned to their camp, laden with booty. The princess, on her brother's arrival, asked him where *Radiger* was, or at least where was his head: and being told he had escaped, she replied: "that they were not come to plunder, but to revenge her on the person of the faithless mortal, who had offered her such an outrage; and begged of the soldiers to go on and pursue their victory." They did so, and with such diligence, that they found *Radiger* in his place of retreat, and presented him in chains before the princess: who reproached him for his perfidy, and asked him, what could induce him to treat her in that manner? he replied, it was his father's orders, and the instances of the nobility, which had made him do it against his will: and he readily submitted to what punishment she would inflict for his crime. "I order you then, says she, to find away my rival immediately, and to restore me that place in your heart and throne, which is my due." The prince, to save his life, agreed to the proposal, and sent back his French wife to *Theodebert*.

² *Chron. Sax.* ³ *Ib. Hunt.*

⁴ *Malmesbury* and *Higden* call him *Weda*: the form of the Saxon *W* being so like a *P*, as to be easily mistaken, I am apt to think the like mistake has happened in *Penda*, and other names of persons beginning with *P*.